

Shirley, Evelyn Philip

The Sherley Brothers An historical memoir of the lives of Sir Thomas Sherley, Sir Anthony Sherley, and Sir Robert Sherley, knights. By one of the same house (Evelyn Philip Shirley.)

Chiswick 1848

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The Sherley Brothers,

AN HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF THE LIVES OF SIR THOMAS SHERLEY,
SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY, AND
SIR ROBERT SHERLEY,
KNIGHTS.

BY ONE OF THE SAME HOUSE.

(Evelyn Phillips Sherley)



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FROM THE PRESS OF CHARLES WHITTINGHAM.

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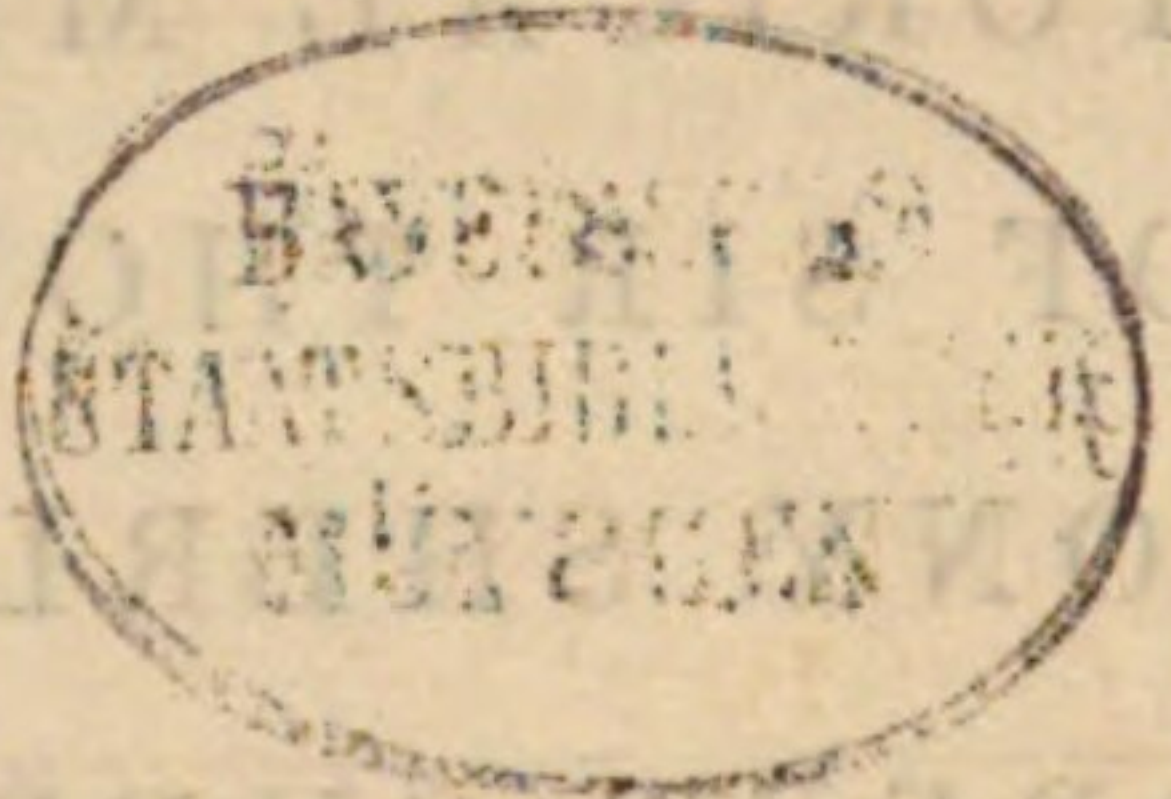
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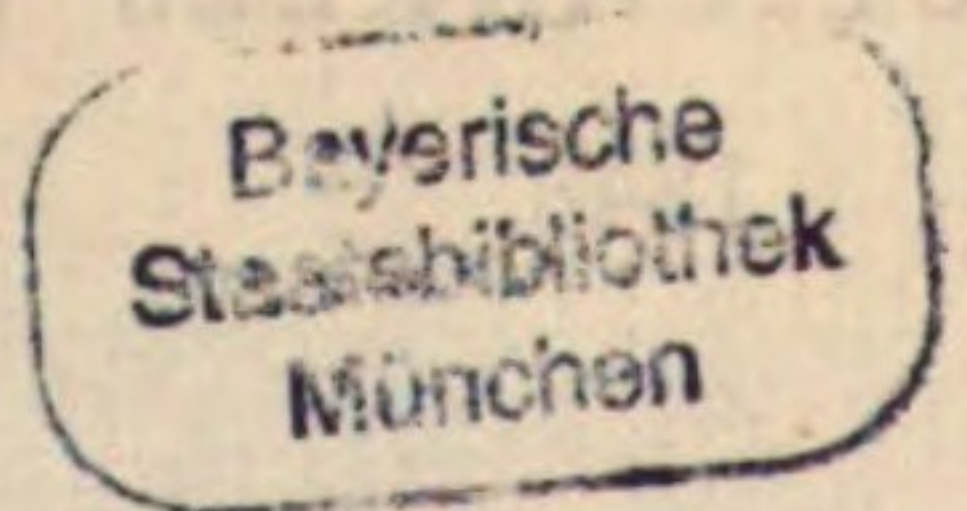
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AN HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF THE LIVES OF
SIR ANTHONY PERCY, AND
SIR ROBERT PERCY
THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF
KNIGHTS
THE ROXBURGH CLUB
BY ONE OF THE SAME HOUSE



CHISWICK:
FROM THE PRESS OF CHISWICK



THE ROXBURGHE CLUB.

MEMORIAL

THE DUKE OF RUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBURY, K.G.

PRESIDENT

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, K.G.

THE DUKE OF RUTHERLAND, K.G.

THE EARL OF POWIS.

THE EARL BROWLOW.

THE EARL CAWDORE.

TO

THE EARL OF BLENHEIM.

THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF

LORD VERNON.

THE ROXBURGHE CLUB

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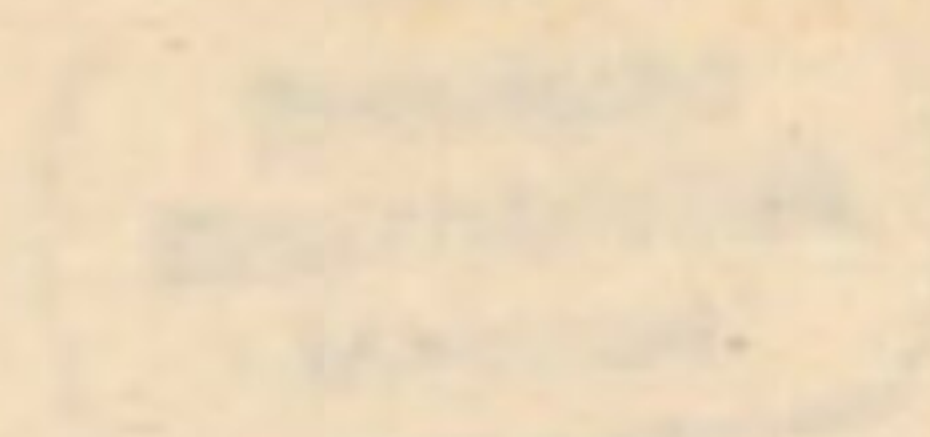
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Lower Easton

August 1881



THE ROXBURGHE CLUB.

MDCCCXLVIII.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBURY, K. G.

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INTRODUCTION.



THE adventures of The Three Sherley Brothers have long engaged the attention of bibliographers and the readers of early voyages and travels. Horace Walpole it appears had at one time intended to clear up the mistakes and confusion in which their history has been involved. Among his papers there were said to be many notes on the subject, with references to the books which mention any part of their travels. The authors indeed who have noticed particular passages in the lives of Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony, and Sir Robert Sherley, are very numerous; without including those rare little tracts (the especial delight of the bibliographer), which first made public at the end of the reign of Elizabeth, and during that of her successor, the romantic adventures of the "THREE ENGLISH BROTHERS." Many of these scattered notices were first collected in a volume published in 1825, together with an account of the Persian expedition by George Manwaring, one of Sir Anthony Sherley's attendants, part of which had hitherto only existed in MS.

Since that time there have appeared two interesting papers on the history of the brothers, the one in the eleventh number of the

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the other in the Gentleman's Magazine for November and December, 1844. The following Memoir, which the author hopes will be found not entirely unworthy of the notice of the Roxburghe Club, is founded on other and fresh materials, the letters (principally intercepted) of the brothers themselves, and which are preserved in her Majesty's State Paper Office, for admission to which his acknowledgments are due to the Rt. Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart.

The whole of these letters, dispersed throughout the voluminous Foreign and Domestic Correspondence of the State Paper Office, have been examined, together with a large mass of the dispatches of cotemporary Ambassadors and Residents; other and valuable contributions have been added by the kind permission of the Directors, from the well arranged Records of the Honourable the East India Company; and some few letters and notices have been derived from the Museum, and other public and private sources.

To all those who have kindly communicated information and assistance, the author cannot conclude without recording his obligations.



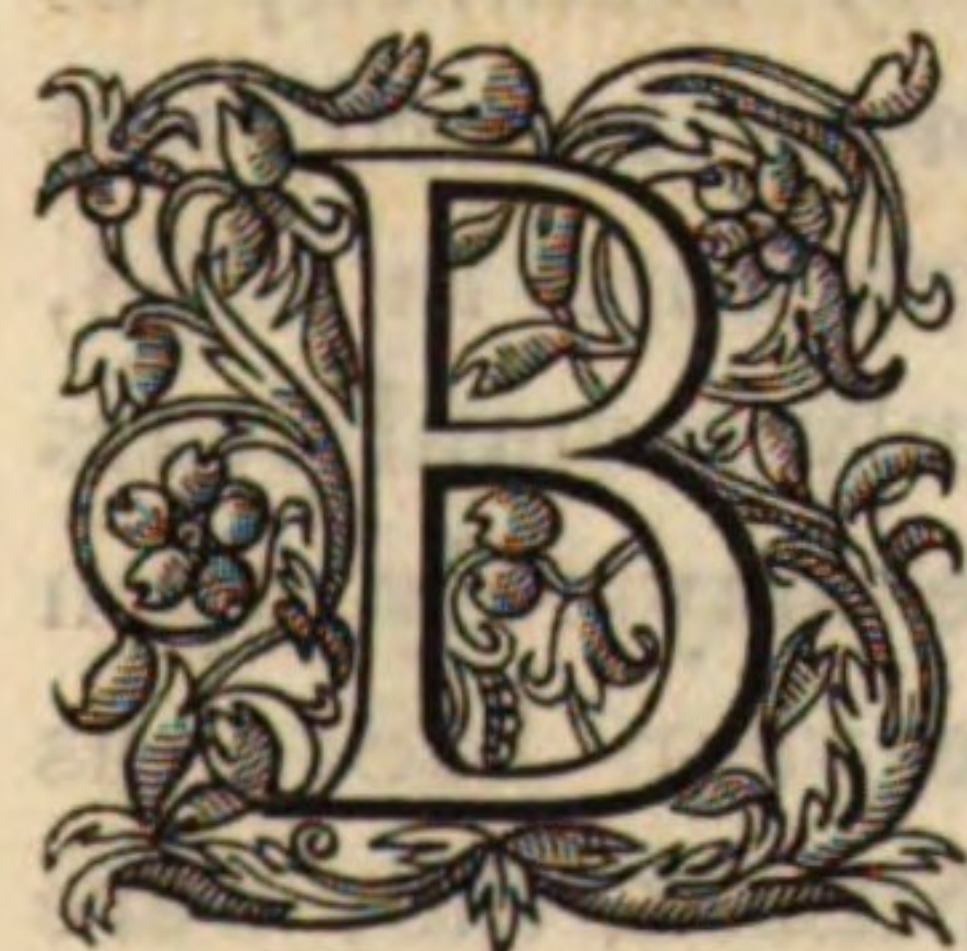


THE SHERLEY BROTHERS.

CHAPTER I.

“THE antient extraction of the Sherleys in this County of Sussex, is sufficiently known, the last age saw a leash of brethren of this family, severally eminent; This mindeth me of the Roman Horatii, though these expressed themselves in a different kind for the honor of their Country.”

Fuller, Worthies of Sussex.



UNDER the smooth turfed ridge of the South Down hills, near the little town of Steyning, in Sussex, and at the base of that remarkable encampment, supposed to be of Saxon origin, and called *Chalconbury Rings*, is built the Manor Place and Church of Wiston, at present the restored and handsome Seat of Charles Goring, Esq., but during the reign of Elizabeth and James the first, (the period to which the following memoirs refer,) the ancient family inheritance of Sir Thomas Sherley, Knight.

The parish of Wiston, or as it is in old writings called *Wistoneston*, was at the period of the Domesday Survey held under William de Braose, by one Ralph, ancestor of a family who were afterwards called from this place, and whose heiress married Adam de Bavent about the latter end of the reign of Henry III. From the family of Bavent it passed by marriage to a younger branch of the great Norman House of Braose (Lords of the neighbouring Castle of Bramber,) under whose ancestors the manor had been

formerly held, and in the year 1423, by the death of Sir John de Braose, without surviving issue, it descended to his sister Beatrice, at that time the widow of Sir Hugh Shirley of Nether Easington, in the County of Warwick, and of Shirley in Derbyshire, who fell at the Battle of Shrewsbury, on the 20th of July 1403.¹

For two generations, the manor of Wiston, remained appendant to the House of Easington, but on the death of Ralph Shirley, Esq., in 1466, it was settled on his son of the same name, by his second wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Blount, and sister of Walter Lord Mountjoy. This Ralph Sherley, (the name was always thus written by this younger branch of the family,) was the first of his Race who resided at Wiston, and was Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1504, he was buried in 1510, and was succeeded by his eldest son Richard, who died in 1540, leaving a son and heir William, who survived his father but eleven years, dying in 1551; this William was the father of Thomas Sherley, afterwards well known as Sir Thomas Sherley the elder, of Wiston, Knight, who was born in 1542, and by his marriage about 1559, with Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Kempe of Ollantighe in Wye in Kent, Knight, was the Father of THOMAS, ANTHONY, and ROBERT, the subjects of the following memoirs.—

The exact dates of the births of this celebrated "*leash of brethren*," as old Fuller terms them, does not appear in any cotemporary record, but from other evidence it appears, that Thomas the eldest was born in 1564, and Anthony in 1565; Robert the youngest was certainly several years junior to his elder brothers, not having been born, if we may rely upon the authority of a rare print engraved abroad, till the year 1581; as Fuller includes the three brothers among the Worthies of Sussex, they were probably all born at Wiston, although from the loss of the ancient Parish Register of that place, and of most of the Transcripts in the Bishop's Registry at Chichester, there is no proof of the fact. The earliest authentic notice which we have of the two elder brothers is their matriculation into the University of Oxford; they were entered of Hart Hall in the beginning

¹ Of the ancestors of the family of Shirley, who thus became Lords of Wiston, and of several other manors in Sussex and Buckinghamshire, it will suffice here to observe, that they were of Anglo-Saxon descent, being seated at Easington before the Norman Conquest, and that the elder male line of the Family still remains, being represented by the Right Honourable Washington Sewallis Earl Ferrers, and Evelyn John Shirley, of Easington, Esq.

of the year 1579, Thomas, being fifteen, and Anthony fourteen years of age.²

But before we proceed with their History, it will be necessary here to make some mention of their Father Sir Thomas, the improvident course of whose long, but unfortunate life, was perhaps in some measure the cause of the errattick career, and romantick adventures of his three knightly sons; for, "Perhaps," it has been said, "no three persons of one family, ever experienced adventures at the same time so uncommon, and so interesting."

Sir Thomas Sherley afterwards called, to distinguish him from his son of the same name, "the elder," was knighted at Rye in Sussex, on the 12th of August 1573, he was then in his thirty-first year, and in possession of a large and plentiful estate inherited from his ancestors. After serving the office of Sheriff for his native county, (and that of Surrey, then united with it,) in 1578, and rebuilding or remodeling his seat at Wiston a year or two previously, we find him attached to the interest of the Earl of Leicester, and taking an active part in public affairs. It would appear also on the authority of his relation and namesake Sir Thomas Shirley of Huntingdonshire, that he at this period changed his religion, and deserted the Roman Catholic Faith; and to this circumstance his cousin, (a devoted adherent of the Church of Rome,) traces the misfortunes which afterwards overwhelmed him and his family; but it may be doubted whether he had not been educated a Protestant, and certainly there are expressions in the will of his father, who died in 1551, by which it would seem that *he* was at least by profession a Protestant, and a member of the then reformed Church of England.

"The Leicester Correspondence," printed by the Camden Society, contains three interesting letters from Sir Thomas Sherley to Leicester, in 1585-6; the knight was at this time employed as a messenger by his Lordship, to the Queen, and one of these letters more particularly, (page 171) evinces both the delicate nature of the business entrusted to him, (viz. to excuse the assumption of the government of the Low Countries by his patron) and the masculine understanding of Elizabeth, who was not to be imposed on by his arguments.

² "Aula Cervina, 1579.

Thomas Sherlye,	} equitis	{ 15, ann. n."
Antonius Sherlye,		

On the 1st of February 1587, Sir Thomas Sherley was appointed Treasurer at War in the Low Countries, having previously as it seems raised a troop for the service of the Queen in that unsatisfactory expedition;³ it was in this campaign that the two elder sons of Sir Thomas were first introduced to military affairs, and here first the adventurous spirit and daring prowess of Anthony Sherley distinguished itself.⁴ Both brothers appear to have left the University some years before; Thomas, without taking a degree, but Anthony "was admitted Batchelor of Arts in the latter end of 1581, and about the beginning of November following," adds Wood, "he was elected Probationary Fellow of All-Souls college, being of kin to the founder thereof by his mother's side;⁵ but before he proceeded in Arts, he left the University, and retired to one of the Inns of Court, or went to travel beyond the seas, or both successively." Thomas is stated by the same authority to have "continued at Oxford about two years or more, was called home, married, and in 1589 knighted," in Ireland; Wood might have added, where it appears Thomas Sherley served for a short time under Sir William Fitzwilliam, then Deputy, from whose hands he received the honour of knighthood, October 26, 1589.⁶ Anthony Sherley does not seem to have accompanied his brother, he was probably at the time in the Low Countries, and

³ Among the papers relating to the Low Countries in the S. P. O. is the following in illustration of Shakspeare's well known line.

"Saddle white Surrey to the field," &c.

"A note of all the horses of old store which Thomas Underwood acknowledgeth himself to have been charged with since his coming to your honor's (Sir H. Sidney) service. June 2, 1589.

e. g.	charge.		discharge.
Graie	Stanhope	given to	Sir Roger Willm's.
Baie	Shurlie	———	Mr. Raphe Love.
Baie	Skipworth	———	the grooms.
Graie	Essex	———	Mr. St. Barbe.
Graie	Bingham	———	Sir Philip Sidney.
Pied	Markham	———	The french Ambassador.
Dun	Sidney	———	——— Bonham.
Sorrell	Bingham	———	Sir Richard Bingham.
Black	Stanhope	To the Cart at Fulham."	

⁴ "He had a Command in the Low Countries among the English when Sir Phil. Sidney was killed." Wood. This was before Zutphen, in 1586.

⁵ See Stemmata Chicheliana, No. 9. page 6.

⁶ S. P. O. Ireland.

there I have little doubt that it was that he sat for that curious portrait, preserved at Felix Hall in Essex, the only picture which is known to represent this remarkable man : the features, which are strongly marked, bear a great resemblance to the foreign prints of him taken several years afterwards ; he is drawn half-length, in rich inlaid armour, with sword, truncheon, and helmet, and a surcoat powdered with stars ; in one corner is the coat of Shurley of Isfield,⁷ a mistake evidently for that of Shirley of Wiston, and in another, “ÆTATIS SVÆ 23. ANº 1588.” This inscription fixes without doubt the identity of the portrait, which descended through the Sherleys of Preston, a younger branch of that of Wiston, to the Western family to whom it at present belongs.

In August 1591, Anthony Sherley, with the title of Colonel, was dispatched into Brittany under the command of the Earl of Essex, General of the army sent thither by Elizabeth to the assistance of Henry IV. of France, against the King of Spain, who attempted to obtain possession of that Duchy ; here he remained for about two years, and here we will leave him while we trace the less prosperous career of his elder brother. Wood mentions the early marriage of Sir Thomas Sherley, but without giving any particulars ; the lady was Frances, daughter of Mr. afterwards Sir Thomas, Vavasour, of the antient family of the Vavasours of Hazelwood, in the county of York.⁸ The circumstances of the marriage appear to have been discreditable, or at least that the union was contracted in secret, and without the sanction of the Queen, whose morbid feelings of jealousy on the occasion of the marriage of her courtiers (and Sir Thomas was attached to the Royal household,) are notorious. The following anonymous letter from the original in the State Paper Office, but in the hand-writing of a secretary employed by Sir Robert Cecil, and addressed, as it would appear, by Sir Robert himself to Sir Thomas Sherley the elder, gives us an imperfect insight into the affair.

“Sr Thomas Sherley : I doe confesse I could not be so symple, as not to see y^e injurye yo^r sonne offred me, to picke me out only, and to the last howre even at Cowdrye⁹ to abuse a ladye and her friends whom I oughte to regarde, but when I sawe that

⁷ Shurley of Isfield, *Paly bendy of eight argent and azure a canton ermine.*

Shirley of Wiston, *Paly of six or and azure a quarter ermine.*

⁸ Harl. MSS. 4023.

⁹ Cowdry. Queen Elizabeth arrived at Cowdry the seat of Viscount Montague on the 15th of August 1591, and remained there till the 21st of the same month. Nichols's Progresses. III. 90.

he forgatt his dutie to his ffather, I dyd determyne to remember no longer his wronge to me, y^e rather for that he seemed to confesse it and that by this tyme y^e worlde sees it was truste and not symplycitie in me (as fyne witts as he had to helpe hym) that bleared myne eye, And therefore wth a good desire to byleve his grieve ended in wanting your favour, I was content to write unto yo^w in his behalfe as I dyd.

“ Nowe is it so falne out by y^e bad carryage of some of his friends (who of lyke tooke to y^mselves suche assurance of your returne towards hym) as they thought not y^mselves bounde to give her May^{tie} wth all humilitie suche thanks for pardoninge the offence as her gracious suffringe y^e abuse in her Court^e to goe unpunished dyd deserve, that even this day her May^{tie} called me to her, and sharplye tolde me that shee wondred that I, that brake y^e matter from yo^w directly as a thinge yo^w mislyked, could nowe both knowe and understande of y^e sodayne greate towardnes of yo^w and all your friends and not make her pryvye to yt, I aunswered her May^{tie} that I could witnes trulye, howe backwarde yo^w were, and yet how earnestly your wife was labored by my la: Cheyney¹⁰ and by your mother: Wheruppon y^e Queene dyd commaunde me to signifye, that her pleasure is, that yo^w shall forth^{wth} directly make it knowne by publycke acte, that for y^s Acte of suche contempte to her Courte, as well as for his wilfull periuries, and unnaturall disobedyence to your selfe, yo^w cannot digest it, to doe for a sonne, that so highlie hathe offended her, who graciouslye hathe alwayes furthered, (in good sorte) any honest or honorable purposes of mariage or prefermt. to any of hers, when wthout scandall and infamye they have bene orderly broken unto her, as in duetye it becomes y^m, and their friends, (howe lightlye soever nowe y^e matter is made in this); wherof because yo^w may take notyce that this is her Ma^{ty} pleasure, If yo^w come to Oatlands her May^{tie} will tell yo^w (shee saythe) her mynd herein.

“ I aunswered her May^{tie} that by her owne friends yo^w were written to that her May^{tie} was well disposed in y^e matter, and that I knewe it to be true, for in a lre yo^w were moved wth this reasonne, that yo^w were lyke shortlye to see there issues, and therefore hoped y^e rather of yo^r compassion, I pray yo^w therefore Sir let not your friends lyve in Darknes and doe not throwe blame from your selfe uppon others, your son is to me a straunger but for yo^w, If yo^w doe not mislyke this his doeinge (w^{ch} I could wishe yo^w dyd not for my parte) I pray yo^w then let me cleerly knowe yo^r mynde and I will accordinglye shape my Actions. If yo^w write me suche aunswere as I may shewe to y^e Quene

¹⁰ Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Borough of Todington, co. Bedford, widow of Thomas, Lord Cheyney, K. G. whose first wife Frideswyde, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Frowych, was mother of Catherine, wife of Sir Thomas Kemp, Kt. father of Anne, wife of Sir Thomas Sherley of Wiston. Lady Cheyney survived till 1614, and bequeathed “to her niece Lady Sherley £1000. To her nephew, Mr. Henry Sherley, son of her nephew Sir Robert Sherley, Knt. & Count Pallantine of y^e Empire, £300.” To her niece Lady Wentworth she left “the Diamond Ring which Queen Elizabeth gave her, set with five Diamonds, when her Majesty was at her house at Todington, which she values more than all her juels,” &c.

(for so shee expectethe) I will inform her May^{tie}, and I pray yo^w send me that lre of my la: her Aunts for y^e Quene knowethe of it, and if yo^w shall not, I shall thinke yo^w doe but halte wth me, to tell me circumstance and hyde substance from me.

“I woulde I had given 500^{li} I had never dealt in it to y^e Queene, it was against my will yo^w knowe, and so it is nowe but this I am borne to obaye and will, *when she comands if it were my life.*”¹¹

“It is not fytt that y^e Quene should be worked by yo^w thoughe shee be by y^{em} when shee knowes all y^t yo^w knowe or truly meane, shee is gracious and wise, yo^w knowe, and wee all feelee.”

“Yo^r louing.”¹¹

(Endorsed)

“The coppie of my lre to Sir Thomas Sherleye xxi^{mo} Septembris 1591.”¹²

In a letter written by Sir Thomas Sherley the elder from London, to Lord Burghley, not many days after the date of the above, is the following sentence referring to his son, whose conduct, darkly hinted at in the preceding letter had resulted in his disgrace at Court and his imprisonment in the Marshalsea.

—I doe confesse to your lo: that I am even weery coome home, and almost overcome with the great greafe and trobble of my owne pryvat, in regard of the most unhappy wreched dealyng of my unworthy boye by which I stand vexed both in hart and sowle.”¹³

On the 28th of December, after “fourteen unhappy weeks imprisonment,” the “unworthy” but then penitent “boye” thus addressed the all-powerful Burghley.

“To the Right Honourable the Lord High Treasurer of Englande.

“I do most humbly beseech y^r good L^dship to have compassion on my most miserable estate. I have acknowledged myne offence to her Majesty in y^e grief of my heart, with a troubled soul, and fourteen unhappy weeks imprisonment; but amongst all these calamities, none is so greavous unto me as that I live in disgrace with her Highness, whose favour and gracious opinion I esteem above my life, and would be glad to redeem it with the loss of half y^e goods that God hath appointed me to have, and will be most willing to spend the rest of my life in her Highnesses service. I pros-

¹¹ The words in Italics appear to be written by Sir Robert Cecil.

¹² S. P. O. Domestick, Sep. 1591.

¹³ S. P. O. orig. Domestick. Sep. 29, 1591.

trate myself most humbly at her Majesties feet, and will not think any chastisement too much that shall be imposed; yet, nevertheless, if her Majesty shall please, of Her gracious goodness, to esteem myne already streytened punishment sufficient, and to pardon myne offence, and grant me my liberty, I will think and acknowledge that her Majesty doth deal most graciously with me, and that I do receive a second life from her; and if by y^r Lo. good means I may be released from this great misery both of body and mind, I shall be bound to y^r Lo. while I live, and will not fail, both by my service and prayers, to seek all means to deserve y^e same; and so I do most humbly commit myself to y^r honourable consideration, at the sorrowful Marshalsea, the 28th of December, 1591.

“ Y^r good Lordship's most dutifully bound
to doe you all servis,

THOMAS SHERLEY.”¹⁴

This appeal eventually had its effect, as we find among the “Captains” serving in the Low Countries in 1593, the name of Sir Thomas Sherley the younger; he was probably released in the preceding year. But it is time now to return to Anthony, whom we left in Brittany, a Colonel in the expedition sent to the assistance of Henry IV. of France; here his services were so acceptable to that chivalrous monarch, that he bestowed the order of St. Michael upon him, to the great displeasure of his own sovereign. Sir Anthony's recall in March 1593-4, was the immediate consequence of this his supposed breach of allegiance, and he was after examination by Sir John Puckering Lord Keeper, and Lord Buckhurst, committed close prisoner to the Fleet. This examination took place on the 12th of March, 1593-4, and not proving altogether satisfactory, Mr. George Carew, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Totness, was commissioned further to inquire “what oath he took at the receiving of the Order of St. Michael, and the manner thereof.” The original paper in the hand-writing of Sir Anthony Sherley, still remains, in answer to the above inquiry; it is without date, but from other papers it appears to have been written on the 14th of March, 1593-4, it is as follows.—

“ Being demanded by Mr. Cary frō my Lorde Keeper & my lord of Bukhurst, whatt soleme othe I took att the receaving the order of S^t Michael, ass I answered ther Lordships the other day, so I say styll; that othe I took none, accept the answer I made to the Kinges demaund wear an othe, for boke I had none presented me, to

¹⁴ Lansdowne MSS. 68, No. 106. (Orig.)

swear by, the effect of the kinges demaund wass, that I should promise in his handes neuer to bear arms against him for the service of any Prince Christian, butt my Sovereign, or by her Commandment, and I dyd freely assure him: and then that I should never spott myself with any Infamy unworthy so high ane order, ass he termed yt, w^{ch} I dyd ass liberally promise, ass I mean to perfourme, This yss all upō my Lyff & reputation, so short a matter to be remeñbred, that I doe assure the truth of the report of yt.

“A. SHERLEY.”¹³

His imprisonment was probably of no long duration, and although on the authority of Baker¹⁴ it would appear that he was charged to resign the Robes of the Order, and he is particularly called *Mr. Sherley* in the papers relating to his examination on this occasion, yet his title of Knight, if not formally allowed, was generally recognized from this period, even as it would seem by the Queen herself, for he is so termed in the ministerial dispatches of Sir Robert Cecil.

Sir Anthony Sherley after returning to the Continent,¹⁵ and spending some time longer there in the military service of the Queen, fitted out in conjunction with his father in 1595, an expedition against the Portuguese settlement in the isle of St. Tomè on the coast of Africa; the design was undertaken under the patronage of the Earl of Essex,¹⁶ whose first cousin Sir Anthony had married, this lady was Frances, daughter of Sir John Vernon of Hodnet in Shropshire Kt. by Elizabeth Devereux, sister of Walter, Earl of Essex; Rowland Whyte in a letter to Sir Robert Sidney, dated November 7, 1595, makes the following remarkable mention of her, the only notice which I believe has been found of this unhappy union.

—“Sir Anthony Sherley goes forward on his voyage very well furnished, led by the

¹³ Harl. MSS. 6996. page 82. endorsed “*Mr. Sherley's owne Declaration.*”

¹⁴ Baker's Chronicle, ed. 1660. p. 408.

¹⁵ It would appear by the following, that he was in England in July 1594, “a Bond from Sir Anthony Sherley K^{nt} for four score pounds lent by Simeon Farmer, at the house of William Herick situate in Westcheap of London, and for which sum Sir Anthony Sherley pledges as a security, one *Karkenet of golde of five peces strong with round pearls*, dated the 28th day of July, in the 36th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.” (Indorsed at the back of the bond.) “Sir Anthony Sherley for 80^l last of October 1594.” Nichol's History of Leicestershire, vol. iv. part 1. p. 410, note.

¹⁶ Many letters respecting it are preserved in the Lambeth Library, and have been printed in Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 456, &c.

strange fortune of his marriage to undertake any course that may occupy his mind, from thinking on her vainest words.”¹⁷

Various delays prevented the sailing of this unfortunate expedition, as it proved, till the spring of 1596, an account of it will be found in Hakluyt's collection, entitled, “A true relation of the Voyage undertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley Knt. in anno 1596, intended for the Isle of San Tomé, but performed to St. Jago, Dominica, Margarita, along the coast of Tierra firma, to the Ile of Jamaica, the bay of the Honduras, 30 leagues up Rio Dolce, & homewarde by Newfoundland, with the memorable exploytes atchieved in all this voyage.”

Of the latter the most remarkable was the capture of Jamaica on the 29th of January, 1596-7.

Sir Anthony, after a short stay in Newfoundland, sailed for England in June 1597; his return is thus noticed in a letter from Sir Robert Cecil to Thomas, Lord Borough, Lord Deputy of Ireland, from the Court, July 1597.—“Poor Anthony Sherley is come home alive but poor, and goeth out with y^e Erle.”¹⁸ Sir Anthony, it seems, had suffered much from illness during the voyage; Rowland Whyte, writing in April 1597, says,—“One Ship of Sir Anthony Sherley's is returned, & brings no other news than of the extreme misery of their voyage. They landed at St: Domingo, and Jago, but found nothing, and marching towards another inland Town, they were fought withall, & beaten to their ships, with the loss of 300 men; himself having been sick all the way, was carried a shore between two soldiers, and so with danger retired to his Ships.”¹⁹ The latter part of Sir Robert Cecil's note refers to the unsuccessful expedition of the Earl of Essex against Spain. The Earl sailed first from Plymouth about the 9th of July,²⁰ Sir Anthony however, travelling to London, as appears by the following passage from Sir William Browne to Sir Robert Sidney, dated from Plymouth, July 24, 1597.—“We hear that S^r Anthony Sherley is landed at Dover, and his

¹⁷ Sidney Letters, vol. i. 359. ¹⁸ S. P. O. Ireland, 1597. ¹⁹ Sidney Letters, II. p. 35.

²⁰ An original letter from Essex to Walsingham, preserved in the S. P. O. and dated from Plymouth, July 8, 1597, thus notices Sir Anthony in a postscript. “My cosin S^r A. Shirley hath left a Portugal pilot wth his brother Tracy, I pray S^r lett him not be taken from him.” This Tracy was Sir John Tracy, afterwards Visct. Tracy, who married Anne, one of the sisters of Sir Anthony Sherley.

for his father's debts, that he hath a purpose to cross the seas, Sir Thomas Sherley's humble suit is, that it may please her Majesty, to take all mild courses, by suffering him to sell all his lands for her satisfaction & his creditors, and seems to stand resolute that his debt to the Queen is but small, if it be any at all, but the world thinks otherwise; The Queen & the lords as yet I hear, are severely inclined against him." Mr. Whyte proceeds to inform Sir Robert Sidney, that he had moved the Earl of Essex, for the Treasurer's Company in Flushing, which Sir Robert desired to procure for his kinsman Lieutenant Sidney, his Lordship's answer was, "You are I doubt not acquainted with the miseries Sir Thomas Sherley is fallen into, by which his son is undone, he hath made means unto me for it, that her Majesty will be pleased to bestow it upon him, to retire unto Flushing, till it be seen in what state his father stands, but if the Queen will not give it him, I assure you that young Sidney shall have it, of whom I do hear very well."²⁷ Through Essex's kind offices, this desired Company was eventually bestowed upon Sir Thomas Sherley the younger, as Whyte writing, Jan. 30, 1597, implies,—“I hear that young S^r Thomas Sherley doth pass away his Company in Flushing to S^r Thomas Vavasour.”²⁸

It will perhaps be convenient in this place, before we proceed with the travels and adventures of Sir Anthony Sherley, who in the winter of 1597-8 left the shores of England, never to return, briefly to notice the less remarkable but sufficiently romantic attempt of his elder brother to acquire, as the Captain of a Privateer, fame and fortune. It does not appear exactly when Sir Thomas left England, but it was probably in the summer of 1598, his own account given in a letter written apparently to Lord Burleigh, brother of Sir Robert Cecil, from Negroponte, the last of February 1602-3, explains the reasons which led him to invest the remains of his fortune in two frail ships.

“I am a-man,” he says, “unknown unto y^r L^dship, but a gentleman, a knight, & household servant of the Quenes, my ffather is a manne of good livinge, but something cast behindhand by hard fortune, I am his oldest sonne, and since his disgrace I have travailed to get my livinge by my sword, and the labore of my handes, in handlinge w^{ch} course I have thrust into y^e Straighes with two shippes which are holly myne owne,

²⁷ Sidney Letters, Vol. II. p. 28.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 86.

I have done nothing prejudiciall to any of her Majesties ffrendes, only soughte to make my voyage upon y^e Spaniards, in w^{ch} pretences whilst I did labor, my ship sprang a great leak, so I was forced to put into Gio, [Zea] &c.”²⁹

All this, however, took place in a second voyage ; his first did not extend beyond the coast of Portugal, which Mr. afterwards Sir Toby Mathew in a letter to Mr. Dudley Carleton, from London, September 20, 1598, thus notices. “S^r Thomas Sherley hath taken four hulkes, the vessels, Easterlings of Lubeck, but it is hoped the freight is Spanish, they are stayed, and a Commission granted to examine whether they be prize or no.”³⁰ His return from his first voyage in June 1602, appears by one of Mr. Chamberlain’s dispatches to Carleton.—“S^r Thomas Sherley is returned with his navy royal, and yesterday with his Lieutenant General Colonel Sims, posted to the Court, as though they had brought tidings of the taking of Seville or some such town, whereas God knows they have but sacked two poor hamlets of two dozen houses in Portugal, the pillage whereof he gave to his army, reserving to himself only two or three peasants to ransom, of whom when he saw he could raise nothing, he would not bring them away for shame.”³¹

Sir Thomas did not remain long at Court, a butt for the sneers and ridicule of Mr. Chamberlain and his friends ; he very shortly afterwards set sail again on a second cruise, but as he did not return for several years, and as his adventures are in some degree connected with those of his brothers Anthony and Robert, (and it is now time to make some mention of the latter,) we will defer for the present the further notice of his gallant but unfortunate career.

²⁹ S. P. O. Domestick. Feb. 1602.

³⁰ Ibid. Sep. 20, 1598.

³¹ Ibid. June 27, 1602.



CHAPTER II.



F the early years of Robert, youngest son of Thomas Sherley the elder, we have no account; he does not seem to have been educated at Oxford, and, if we may judge from his letters, which are faulty both in style and orthography, his education had been much neglected. In the winter of 1597-8, when he could not have been more than eighteen years of age, he accompanied his brother Sir Anthony, attended by a kindred band of twenty-three adventurous spirits, amongst whom was William Parry, who afterwards printed an account of his travels;—they landed at Flushing, were hospitably received by Sir Robert Sidney the Governor, and from thence proceeded to the Hague, where, on the 12th of January, 1597-8, his arrival is mentioned in a letter to Sidney from George Gilpin, the Queen's Resident there, who expresses his wonder at his "coming with such a train this time of the year, when the passages are so difficult, and chargeable travelling."¹

The object of the journey appears to have been kept a secret, it was a scheme proposed by Essex, who provided the funds, but undertaken without the sanction of the Queen, for the assistance of Don Cesare D'Este illegitimate son of the Duke of Ferrara, then lately dead, against the Pope, who laid claim to the Principality.

Sir Anthony in a letter to Chief Justice Popham, written from Venice on the 30th of August 1601, endeavours to make some apology for his conduct on this occasion, he says,

¹ Sidney Papers, Vol. II. p. 80.

—“neither did I go absolutely without her Majesties knowledge, nor in my opinion License, having guided her to be pleased with it upon the consideration of my necessity by my cousin *Prinell*, and having also deliberated the same with S^r John Stanhope,² I received a pass from my lord of Essex, who was at that time instructed to have given it to any manner of conditioned man, as I thought then, and as far as my skill reacheth me, think yet.”³

In a former part of this letter he mentions his services in the wars, in the following terms.

“My Lord, from the time that my years enabled me to serve her Majesty & my Country, my father’s desire and my own will did concur to give my time and myself unto those uses which I was fittest for, following the course of the wars, in which I had the testimony of all those who commanded me that I neither avoided peril nor labor nor expense, by which I might make proof with what zeal, duty, and love I did serve them, neither did I ever withdraw myself from that course, without regard of benefit, until my good father’s fortune made him unable to bear any longer the burden of so great a charge.”

But to return to the Ferrara expedition: from the Hague, Sir Anthony charged with letters of compliments and encouragement from Count Maurice, General of the States’ army, to Don Cesare d’Este, departed by way of Cologne, Frankfort, and Nuremburgh to Augsburgh, “altogether by coach,” from whence, adds Parry, “we hired horses to passe the Alps, in respect that it was not passable by coach,” at Venice where they arrived in ten days, they learned that the object of their journey was at an end, the submission of the Duke to the Pope having prevented the war.

After remaining ten weeks in Venice, and having in the interim corresponded with his patron, Essex, our adventurous knight undertook an expedition into Persia, on the proposal, as Sir Anthony informs us in the “*Relation of his Travels*,” of the Earl himself, “grounding of it upon two points,” which, without using the circumlocution which encumbers Sir Anthony’s style, we may describe, were first, partly, of a religious nature, being to endeavour to prevail upon the King of Persia to unite with the Christian

² Sir John Stanhope, third son of Sir Michael Stanhope, created Lord Stanhope, Baron of Harrington, in 1605.

³ S. P. O. original Venice.

Princes against the Turks, and secondly to establish a commercial intercourse between this country and the East. In the letter to Chief Justice Popham, from which some extracts have been made before, the knight tells us the private reasons which influenced him on this occasion, "I was resolved," he says, "to do some good and extraordinary thing, before I returned back again, and to make him (Essex), as a good factor, either a return of good satisfaction, or honor for his money, or an end of myself, which should also have finished the opinion in him of further charge with me."

"Persia," writes Malcolm, in his valuable history of that country, "from the commerce that it carried on by land with the territories of Turkey and Russia, and by sea with the Portuguese and Dutch, had become about this period, an object of some attention to the English nation." For Persia, accordingly, Sir Anthony embarked himself, in an Italian ship, the 29th of May 1598, accompanied by his brother and attendants, four and twenty in number,⁴ without however mentioning the objects of his journey to any; "as fearing the strange humor of the world, rather inclined to mis-judge of all actions, than to give them only a charitable construction, not willing to be scorned if it effected not; and assuring myself of all sort of reputation, if it proceeded well."^{5 6}

Of this memorable expedition there are five distinct accounts, of which a notice has been given in the Introduction to these memoirs; they may be here, however, briefly mentioned. The first in point of date was printed in 1600, from the report of "two Gentlemen who have followed him (Sir Anthony Sherley) the whole time of his travaile, and are lately sent by him with letters into Englande, September 1600." The second was written by

⁴ Parry, page 5. That is, twenty-six with the Sherleys themselves, six of the attendants being gentlemen, four upper, and the rest inferior servants, some of the latter were Persians.

⁵ S^r. A. S. Relation of his Travels. Page 5.

⁶ The following extracted from a letter of Mr. John Chamberlain to Mr. Dudley Carleton, from London, Dec. 8, 1598, shows us that the secret was well kept, as six months afterwards the object of the journey was entirely unknown in London.

—"we hear that Sir Anthony Sherley hath been at Constantinople and there wrong out of our merchants 400^{li} and from thence he went to Aleppo, and there scraped together 500^{li} more, wherewith he hath charged the L. of Essex by his bills, and so is gone, God knows whither, to seek his fortune." S. P. O. Domestick.

William Parry, gentleman, and printed in 1601. The third compiled by Anthony Nixon, and printed in 1607. The fourth was penned by Sir Anthony Sherley himself, and given to his brother Sir Robert previous to his first Embassy in England in 1611; it was printed in 1613. The fifth and last was written by George Mainwaring, one of his attendants; the greater part of the original MS. having been first printed in the Retrospective Review, and the remainder in "The Three Brothers," printed in 1825.

A narrative compiled from the greater part of these authorities having been published in the last named work, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to trace the progress of Sir Anthony and his followers towards Persia, without reprinting at length the whole details of their travels which are so easily accessible elsewhere.

After a passage then of five and twenty days from Venice, our English adventurers, quarrelling with the ship's company, were landed in Zante, at this time belonging to the Venetian republic, here they remained ten days, and here Sir Anthony addressed a letter to Mr. Henry Lello, English Ambassador at Constantinople, in which he scrupled not to affirm, "how he was sent by Her Highnes towards the Red Sea, to meet with a fleet of Holanders that are gone thither under color of traffick, requiring me, for his more safety," adds Mr. Lello in his despatch to Sir Robert Cecil, "to send him the Grand Signor his comandment or pass, through his Dominions, which accordingly I have done."⁷ From Zante, after a dangerous passage of eleven days, in an open boat, the whole party arrived in Candia; thence they proceeded to Cyprus, and thence to Tripoli: here they unfortunately found the vessel out of which they had been rejected at Zante, and Sir Anthony and his party being branded by that ship's crew as pirates, it was with great difficulty, and not without the payment of a large sum of money, that he was permitted to proceed to Scanderoon in a boat which he hired for the purpose. After encountering a gale of wind which kept them at sea for six days, their provisions being reduced to a small quantity of fresh water and some tobacco, they eventually made the coast, and run up the river Orontes, where they landed; thence they proceeded to Antioch in two days, and from Antioch to Aleppo in six days more. They remained five weeks at Aleppo with the English merchants, "from whom I receaved,"

⁷ S. P. O. Turkey. Mr. H. Lello to Sir R. Cecil, August 26, 1598.

says Sir Anthony, "such an entertainment with so careful, so kind, and so honourable a respect, as I must needs say they were the only Gentlemen, or the most benign Gentlemen that ever I met withall."⁸

Coffee, it seems, was at this period unknown in England, both Parry and Mainwaring mentioning it as a novelty; the former tells us that the people of Aleppo, "as Tailors, sit upon their stalls, cross leg'd, drinking a certain liquor, which they do call *Coffe*, which is made of a seed, much like mustard seed, which will soon intoxicate the brain, like our Metheglin."⁹ The latter is equally ignorant of its use, and of the place of its production. "They have a certain kind of drink which they call coffee, it is made of an Italian seed, they drink it extreme hot, it is nothing toothsome, nor hath any good smell, but it is very wholesome."¹⁰ The use of Carrier pigeons, is also recorded by Parry, though as he says, "it exceedeth the credit of our home-bred countrymen, for relating whereof, perhaps I may be held a liar."¹¹

From Aleppo, Sir Anthony departed about the midst of August for Bagdad, then generally called by travellers, Babylon, having previously purchased some rich merchandize, as pieces of cloth of gold, and twelve cups of emeralds, and jewels of great worth, intended as a present for the King of Persia. Travelling by water from Beer on the Euphrates, he visited by the way a powerful chief of Bedouin Arabs, encamped on the banks, and came to Bagdad in about three and twenty days; here the party remained a month, and here Sir Anthony's precious cups, and part of his valuable goods fell a prey to the rapacity of the Turkish Viceroy: here too, they narrowly escaped a greater misfortune, an order from Constantinople which directed they should be seized and sent thither,¹² being only frustrated by the kindness of an Armenian merchant, who, besides furnishing Sir Anthony with money, purposely misled the band of 200 horsemen sent to take them. Secretly leaving Bagdad, and travelling without further loss of time, the

⁸ Sir A. Sherley's Travels, p. 17.

⁹ Parry, p. 10.

¹⁰ Three Brothers, p. 28.

¹¹ Parry, p. 13.

¹² It is not improbable that this order may have been the result of Sir Anthony's false description of himself and of his expedition, mentioned in Mr. Lello's despatch to Sir Robert Cecil. The Ambassador sent him, it seems, the Grand Seignor's protection or pass, (which however Sir Anthony never appears to have received,) and upon discovering the fraud, contrary orders may have been despatched from Constantinople.

whole party arrived safely in the dominions of the King of Persia about the end of October 1598.

Sir Anthony Sherley's favourable reception at Kazveen,¹⁴ by Shah Abbas the Great, at this period King of Persia, has been ascribed by Major General Briggs, in his interesting Memoir on the Sherley Family,¹⁵ to the influence possessed by the ladies of the Court, (his two favourite wives being Christian,) over that celebrated monarch. Abbas was no doubt flattered at the arrival of an English soldier of fortune at his Court, it was an evidence of his power and wide extended fame; the King was at the time in Khorasan, engaged in fighting the Usbeks, and some time elapsed before his public entry into Kazveen on his return from the wars, and his interview with Sir Anthony and Robert Sherley. The splendid dresses worn on this occasion, the magnificent presents given and received having been described at full length in the various accounts of this remarkable period of the brothers' lives, need not be here reprinted: the night following the King's return, the Sherleys were invited by his Majesty to a banquet, and there he discoursed, says Sir Anthony, "not of our apparel, building, beauty of our women or such vanities, but of our proceeding in our wars, of our usual arms, of the commodity and discommodity of fortresses, of the use of artillery, and of the orders of our Government, in which, though my unskilfulness were such, that I knew my errors were greater than my judgement, yet I had that felicity of a good time, that I gave him satisfaction, as it seemed: for in my discourse having mentioned the having of certain models of Fortification, in some books at my lodging, which were only left me, in the spoil which was made of me at Babylon; next day after dinner he came thither, with all the principallest of the Court, where he spent at least three hours in perusing them, and not improperly speaking of the reasons of those things himself."¹⁶

These discourses were carried on through Signor Angelo, the Interpreter and Guide of the English knight, who was himself unacquainted with the Persian language; he soon found means, however, of bringing before the enquiring mind of Abbas, the political schemes which were the secret objects

¹⁴ Invariably written in the Historical Tracts of the seventeenth century *Casbin*.

¹⁵ In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. No. XL. p. 77.

¹⁶ Sherley's Travels, p. 66.

of his journey, and opened to him the project of a union between himself and the Princes of Christendom against their common enemy the Turk. Malcolm has well compressed the history of these transactions.

“Aly-verdi Beg,” he says “who had been raised to the command of the army, became the declared friend and supporter of the European favourite; and all his influence was exerted to repel the attacks made upon him by those ministers who were adverse to hostilities with Turkey, and who represented the advice which Sir Anthony Sherley gave Abbas on that occasion, as proceeding from the treacherous designs of a secret agent of a Christian court, that wished to promote its own interest by embroiling true believers in war. But Sir Anthony did not advise the monarch, in whose service he had entered, to engage in a contest, without pointing out the means of rendering that successful. He offered himself as the instrument for establishing an alliance between Abbas and the monarchs of Christendom:¹⁷ one of whom, Rodolph the Second, sovereign of Germany, was at that period engaged in a war with the Emperor of Constantinople. His sincerity in the cause he had adopted was proved by his leaving his brother (afterwards Sir) Robert at the Persian court, and by the pains he took to instruct the Persians in the science of war. The new corps of infantry which Abbas had raised to make himself independent of his turbulent chiefs, and to oppose in the field to the Turkish janissaries, probably owed their discipline to the counsel and aid of the two Sherleys and their military followers. We are, indeed, told,¹⁸ that they not only formed this force, but taught the Persians the use of artillery.”^{19 20}

Sir Anthony Sherley remained in Persia, generally attendant upon the

¹⁷ According to Cartwright, or *The Preacher's Travels*, (p. 69,) these were Queen Elizabeth, the French King, the Emperor, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Senate of Venice, and the Duke of Florence. He has omitted the Czar of Muscovy, to whom Sir Anthony first went.

¹⁸ Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. II. p. 1806.

¹⁹ Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 533.

²⁰ “The mightie Ottoman, terror of the Christian world, quaketh of a Sherly feuer, and gives hopes of approaching fates. The prevailing Persian hath learned Shirleian arts of war; and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, hath now five hundred pieces of brasse, and sixty thousand musketiers; so that they, which at hand with the sword were before dreadful to the Turkes, now also, in remoter blowes and sulfurian arts, are growne terrible.”—Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. II. p. 1806.

Court, about four or five months.²¹ "Whilst he hath been in these parts," said Abbas, "we have eaten together of one dish, and drunk of one cup like brethren;"²² during this period he was created by the Persian monarch a Mirza, or Prince; a title at present strictly confined to Moslems.²³ Whilst Sir Anthony was supposed to be enjoying these honours at the Court of Abbas, (he had in reality however left Persia,) an old friend, and former companion in arms, Sir Francis Vere,²⁴ wrote him a congratulatory letter, which the jealous policy in which he was regarded at home, suffered not to reach its destination; it was no doubt intercepted, and consigned to the State Paper Office, where it remains an evidence of the estimation in which the knight was regarded in Europe, notwithstanding his disgrace at Court. This letter is addressed "To my hono: good frende Syr Antony Sherle Knyght &c." and is as follows:

"Syr, I haue seen of your lettres sent unto your frendes of theas partts, and am as gladd by them to undurstande the gratyous disposityon of the Kynge of Persia towards you, as perchance any other of y^r wellwysers. Whylest you lyve in that great Prynces Courtt, fannead to the heygth of yure owne hartts desyre, itt shall nott be poesible for me to carrye you any envye; Butt I must confeass thatt so sone as I shall heer thatt you arr in Warres, itt wylbe as hard for me nott to be one of y^r greateast envyers. For I dare bouldlye saye thatt feaw in theas partts of the world have had a stronger desyre to see the numbre, and discyplyne of those great Prynces Armyes then my sealf, especyaly of thatt famous K̄ygedome of Persia. Yeatt this envye of myne shall nott be so wyckead as to make me wyshe from you any thyng, butt rather thatt I myght be partaker wth you in the experyence to be gathered in thoes great actyones, and in doying searvice to so worthye a Prynce, who hath no small reverence amongst menn of ane profession, for w^t.ss^r. [*whatsoever*] he doeth to Noble Syr Anthony Sherlye; to whom I most hartely commend my sealf, leawying to the reaportt of news bearers the occurants wth us, who I doubt nott ar fully instructed by y^r greater frendes.

"Y^r most assuread lovyng frende to doe you service

"F. VERE."²⁵

"Hage this 18 Februarii 99. ould style." (Feb. 18, 1599-1600.)

²¹ Cartwright limits his residence in Persia to three months only.

²² Credentials of Sir A. Sherley. Report of his Journey. Ed. 1600.

²³ Briggs, p. 88.

²⁴ The celebrated Sir Francis Vere, whose well known monument in Westminster Abbey is perhaps the best specimen of the sepulchral architecture of the time, died in 1608.

²⁵ S. P. O. Orig. Persia.

In the character of Ambassador to the Princes of Europe, and furnished with "Credentials,"²⁶ which perhaps," says Sir John Malcolm, "are the most singular by which any public representative was ever accredited," Sir Anthony Sherley left Ispahan, and took leave of Shah Abbas and his brother two days' journey from that city. The King on this occasion presented him with a seal of gold, and said, "Brother, whatsoever thou dost seal unto, be it to the worth of my kingdom, I will see it paid." "So," continues Mainwaring, "the King kissed Sir Anthony three or four times, and kissed us all and said, that if we did return again we should receive great honour."²⁷

Five Englishmen²⁸ remained attendant upon Robert Sherley, whom Abbas promised to use as his own son, and that he should never want so long as he was king of Persia;²⁷ in Persia, therefore, we will leave him for the present, while we follow the course of his brother Anthony to the Russian capital.

The journey from Ispahan to Moscow occupied not less than six months, so tedious were the means of travelling at this period, over those wild and uncultivated regions; one month, however, was spent on the shores of the Caspian sea, waiting for a Persian nobleman, who, at Sir Anthony's request, was to accompany him, and was joined with him in Commission, but in a subordinate capacity: the party were two months tossed on the waves of the Caspian sea; at length they landed at Astrakhan, and from thence travelling for ten weeks by river and land, they arrived at Moscow during the month of September, 1599. His progress hither, and the nature of his political intentions will be better illustrated by the following Dispatch, written by Sir Anthony from Moscow, the 12th of February, 1599-1600, and addressed, as it seems from internal evidence, to Anthony Bacon, the friend of Essex.²⁹

²⁶ See Appendix B. for an English translation of this document, and for a copy of the Privileges granted at the same time to all Christian merchants.

²⁷ Three Brothers, p. 96.

²⁸ "Viz: Honest Captain Powell, (afterwards knighted by James I.) John Ward, John Parrot, who afterwards died in Lahor, being in Master Mildenal's Company, one Brookes who is gone for the East Indies, and an English Gunner whose name I do not well remember, who was slain by an Italian in the way to Corassan." Cartwright, p. 70.

²⁹ It appears by Sir Anthony Sherley's subsequent letters, that he wrote many at this period to his patron the Earl of Essex, Mr. Anthony Bacon, and Mr. Secretary. [Cecil.]

“Sr thoughte a man in that sorte absent that I have ben must resolve to endure all the persecutions that malyce and the spight of idle tounge can lay uppon him; yet the true feeling w^{ch} I have in my owne conscience of the good end of that I have employed myselfe in, doth strengthen me exceedingly against all those stormes, w^{ch} y^e assured confydence w^{ch} I have of my ll^s favour and yo^{rs}, w^{ch} I have and do holde dere, because I knowe their beginning was uppon an honorable thought of me, and will not be overthrown wthout assurance of the contrary, w^{ch} if I had not more dispysed, then death itself, I could not have put myselfe to so many hazards, and infynyte laboure as must accompany so great an Enterpryse as this was; the begynning and first successes of w^{ch} yo^w have so well understoode by many lres from me, that I need not returne to them, but give here an accoumpt for the rest.

“When I was dispatched and ready to have taken my leave of the king, there came unto me two ffryers, wth a letter from a thyrd of their owne occupacōn in w^{ch} he tooke knowledge of my being there, only ignorant of my nacyon and busynes, that he was comming to the king of Persia frome the Pope and king of Spayne wth larg commys-sions of procuracyon, and bycause by y^e length of their Journey, Sycknesse had taken from him the greatest part of his trayne, he requyred of me so muche courtesye as that some of my ffolks might meet him, and bring him into y^e Towne of Asphan* where y^e king was. I was exceedingly moved wth y^e matter least this intermedling might ether utterly undoe or exceedingly alter my busynes, especyally because I had done it contrary to the affeccyon of most part of the kinges Counsell, only uppon the kinges owne honour, to avoyd asmuche as I mought all harmes, I went and mett him myselfe, offred him my house, w^{ch} he very soone accepted, and used him wth the best curtesye w^{ch} I could devyse, when he had ben one howr or two in my house, I beganne to feele him for his authorities, he told me that he had them, but seing that he found that I was an Englishman of a nacyon so freindly unto Don Anthonio of w^{ch} he was a nere member he desyred not to trouble any busynes begoune by me, but only desyred me to give him passage hither in my Comp^y or wth my lres into England, surely his art fayled him—being so soddayne wth me, otherwyse I might phappes have ben a little confydent in hym, notwithstanding I thancked him for his affeccyon, commended his stedfastnes to his Prynce and bloodd w^{ch} remayned unchanged in so many afflyccyons and so passed wth him, untill the kinges owne curiosytie what strangers come unto my house, and my request to y^e king also, because I was unwilling he should have stayd behynd me, brought hym unto him. There in my owne presence wthout any Preamble, he desyred the king to put no confydence in me, but to belyfe hym bothe for his yeares and nacyon, w^{ch} had ben in long amytie wth the kings Predycissors, w^{ch} if he would doe, he would undertake by the helpe of his king that they two would put Christendome under his ffeet. This was no sooner spoken, but the factions against me had hold of it, so that I had a newe labour both to kepe the kyng constant to his promyse and purpose and to stoppe this Priests mouth. I told hym at his commyng home that I was sory that he had not truly understoode my purpose w^{ch} was the generall servyce of all

* That is a Towne belonging to y^e K. of Persia.

Christendom, and that he might make himself great, by bearing a part in such a holie servyce, therefore that I would procure hym a ptyculer lre bothe to the Pope and king of Spayne in w^{ch} he should have equall authoritye wth me. This lyked him so well, as the lres were procured for hym, w^{ch} carry nothing in them, but only what I have done for the generall good of all the world, and that hymselfe come after the busynes effected, and only hathe theis lres commytted unto hym for my sake, that I brought him wth me out of Persia wth good spyes uppon his behavjour, w^{ch} was suche, that for male and ffemale of all sortes I thincke under heauen there lyves not such a vyllen, upon theis vyle occasyons I undertooke to devyde the other ffryer his Companyon from hym w^{ch} I dyd in so vyolent a sort that he requyred me at Hastrokan, the first port of the king of Mus-covyas Domynion lyeing uppon the Caspian See, to take holde of hym as a Prysoner, & so to carry hym a long wth mee, w^{ch} I easely undertooke uppon so good warrant and specyally wth good confydence because I was in a Contry in league wth my Mystres, and where his M^r is not so muche as knowen.

“Hither I came in September and nowe it is ffebruary, and am yet held Prysoner myselfe, the Priest taken from me, and heerin a thousand lyes against, and that w^{ch} is most of all none of my Countrymen suffred to come unto me. The best is, yf they do only entertayne o^r track of merchandyse for their owne commodyties, for without it they must goe naked, and desyre that their ffryer should gett y^m more dryncke out of Spayne w^{ch} they love well, wee can muche better want their Rattskynnes than they o^r cloathes. This I can assure you, love to o^r state there is lytle, because as I understand by a Scottyshman that is my keeper they doe favour much the hope of Scotland for Denmarks sake, w^{ch} is their good neighbour. Nowe from this evyll preface, I will enter into the matter of what I have done. I have opened the Indyes for o^r merchants in that sorte That only excepting the outward shewe of power, they shall have more power then the Portingalls, through Persia they may bringe as secure as betwene London and St. Albones, the hatred w^{ch} the whole Indyan body beareth to the Portingalls being such that lett only an other trader enter, they will rather loose by hym then sell to the Portingalls.

“This is one servyce w^{ch} I have done for o^r State, and hereinlosed for the incouraging yo^r believe, I have sent yo^w the cobby of the Patent given me for all merchants by the king of Persia, and I judge that my deserving is not ill, to have effected that w^{ch} hath ben so often attempted and were hopelesse, w^{ch} besydes bringes wth it two mightie proffytts, our owne wealthe, and the Enemyes impouerishinge, besydes if I may be bolde (as I am ever bold to lay my thoughts open before yo^w,) it is no unhappy thing for the glory of her Ma^{ty} w^{ch} hath ben many tymes spightfully taynted for the Turks freindshipp to have in her owne hands a Rycher, a greater, and an infynyte more honorable trade then that. And synce the one pryncypall mayne pyller of all accyones is reputacyon, of howe great importance will it be throughe all the world that her Ma^{tie} hath not only this many yeeres supported the might of such a great Enemy, but hathe so honored herselfe by hym that so many, so great, and so remoted Prynces desyre to

imbrase her freindshippe and the Commerce of her People, though they have thus longe knowen her Enemys, and are wonne only to her, by the fame w^{ch} she hath gotten uppon them.

The king of Tabur³⁰ is the mightiest king of the Indies, wth hym I have so well fytted my credytt, that I have receaved two messages from hym, in one he hathe desyred of me, some man w^{ch} knowes the warres to dyscyplyne his men, w^{ch} I would not promyse hym, but have left wth my brother, a gent: one Pouall ready to move uppon the fyrst commandm^t, and uppon his comyng unto hym he will make warr uppon those fforts of the Portingalls, w^{ch} are uppon some ptes of his Domynions.

“In y^e other wee have spoken of a thing of much mightier importance, yf any of Don Anthonyos³¹ sonnes will come into his Contry he shalbe assysted wth mony and men, for the recovering of the rest of the Indyas.

“for the better hope of w^{ch} accyōn, he shall also fynd eight thousand banyshyt Portingalls in Bengula and Syndy³² w^{ch} will ioyn for any such inmovacyon, though for any thing I can gather being once there, he will have no great use of fforce, where the people’s affection is so great to his house.

“I have also sent y^w the copy of my general comyssyon w^{ch} I have from the King of Persia, by w^{ch} yo^w shall see my credytt wth hym, and the ample aucthorytie w^{ch} he gyveth me, to treat wth all the Christyan Prynces for hym.

“I do knowe that I shal be bytterly inveygghed against for it, but I wyll soddenly cutt of the proceeding of any worke w^{ch} the greatest mallyce in the worlde can buyld against me, I am and ever wilbe her Ma^{ties} true and faythfull subiect, nether will I procede wth any thing onpryveledged wth her Royall consent, whos servant, death shall only make me leave to be.

“It may be that in the handling of this busynes I may prove many humors, the knowledge of w^{ch} can do no harme, and the mayne course of the busynes, w^{ch} is to call all them against the Turke, can in no sorte preiudyce her May^{tie}, I could say yf I durst, that it would honour her exceedingly, her Enemyes having lybelled so bytterly against her for her Turkeysh Embassadours folly in Hungary, and dyverse other accydents about that Turkeysh amytie, but I will leave suche curyosyties untouched and unlooked unto, and hold all my thoughts to my selfe, untill I heare from my L. and y^w, according to whose dyreccōns I wyll make all my mocyons, wherefore if his L. or yo^w will please to dispatche somebody of Dyscrecōn and trust, wth y^r full Instruccōns to Prage, I will ether attend hym ther, or in Florence, and fashyon my self and my busynes to yo^r opynions and comandm^{ts}; for belyeve me as my affection, respect and reverence hathe ever followed yo^w, two syncerely and faythfully above any, so even they

³⁰ *The King of Tabur*, The Emperor Akbar is apparently here intended. Tabur appears to be another name for Lahore, which with Agra, was Akbar’s capital.

³¹ Don Anthony, Prior of Crato, and Titular King of Portugal.

³² *Bengula*, Bengala. *Syndy*, Scinde.

command me to imbrace nothing w^{ch} shall not be worthy of myselfe w^{ch} have ben ever made dearer to myselfe by so honorable freinds, and let not y^e light coniecturing humour of any, nor malycious tounes have power against me w^{ch} will never deserve justly the least evyll thought from yo^w.

“A spyrytt w^{ch} aspyreth to great thinges wth small meanes, may shewe defects in many thinges, w^{ch} ever are extreame torments to it selfe, but the true ende w^{ch} shewe the very causes indeed, are pfect medycynes to cure the wounds in honorable iudgem^{ts}, wth w^{ch} small appologies will serve, when they are approved by appearance and good Examples.

“This I had forgotten to say by y^e way, that yf her May^{tie} please to send any of those two Prynces, only let her please to wryte to this king of Muscovya for his Passağ, and then uppon my liefte I will put him safe in La Hur and in an exceeding great fortune for a Prynce that is so farre from any.

“In this meane tyme, this held and made ready secretly, wilbe a mightie blowe to y^e king of Spayne, of mightie honour and profytte to her Ma^{tie} and I shalbe able to strengthen myselfe mightely wth the king of Persia for all occasyons w^{ch} her Ma^{tie} shall commande, by affecting his servyce, w^{ch} wilbe good for all, and hurtfull for none.

“O that I might place myselfe wth one hower to talke wth my Lorde, or y^w, or bothe, but synce I am so unhappy that I cannot, for God’s sake be not negligent in comforting me, and strengthning me to my busynes, for I protest unto yo^w I am exceeding faynt.

“ffor that unsene thing called honour is so howerly before y^e Eyes of my mynde in so many feares of being taynted by some or other disease, that by Jesue I am farre worst then a meane Commander, he being holpen wth his extreame resolucyon, and I devyded from myself by not knowing what to determyne uppon.

“Yet I will never be so mucche from myselfe, but that I will remember all y^e respect and reverence w^{ch} I will ever give yo^w whose I am

“Most faythfully and entyrelly in all servyce.

“ANTHO : SHERLEY.”³³

“Musko 12th of ffeb.” [1599-1600.]

Sir Anthony received very indifferent treatment from the hands of Boris Godunow, the barbarian Sovereign of Russia; at one time he was debarred from his liberty, as the preceding letter relates, and besides, received, if possible, a greater insult: the Persian native, who was, in truth, scarcely more than his attendant, being preferred before him, and appointed to have the principal place in the Embassy; his prisoner, the Friar was set at liberty,

³³ S. P. O. Russia. Endorsed “12 ffeb. 1599. Coppy of a lre from Musko wrytten by S^r Antho : Sherley.”

the King's letters taken from him and opened, and in addition he was denied access to the English merchants, established even at this period at Moscow. Sir Anthony indignantly complained, "Whereupon the Lord Chancellor sent for the Merchants, enquiring of them what Sir Anthony was, and whether they durst give him any credit, to whom they replied, that he was nobly descended, and allied even to the best men of England, yea and that they would give him credit for as much as they were worth; hereupon they had liberty to send us such necessaries as we sent for, but no liberty to come to us, much less we to them."³⁴

The Ambassador remained six months in Moscow, absolutely refusing to compromise his character by appearing before the Russian Sovereign in an inferior station, and having in some degree vindicated his authority, (and thereby gained the respect of the Russians,) by soundly chastising the insolence of the Friar, who, with the Persian official, had united in imputing to Sir Anthony every kind of villany which might affect his character. At length, viz. in "mid May," the party received their leave to depart, and "took their journey toward St. Nicolas, (otherwise Archangel,) which was some six weeks passage by sea and river, during all which time we saw nothing in a manner but wood and water."³⁵

After a dangerous passage of six weeks they sailed to Stettin, then called Stoade, where Parry, the sole relator of Sir Anthony's unsuccessful Russian Embassy, parted from him, "he holding his course towards the Emperor of Germany," and Parry, "having divers letters of Sir Anthonies to his friends in England," returning thither, where he arrived in the midst of September, 1600.³⁶

Among these letters was one addressed, "To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecill, Knight, principall Secretory to her M^y." which is here given from the original in the State Paper Office; it is remarkable that the author makes no mention of the disrespect in which he had been treated in Russia, his whole object being if possible to conciliate the Queen, and to obtain leave to return to England; Elizabeth, however, remained inexorable, nor did Cecil vouchsafe to return any answer to the Representative of his Persian Majesty.

³⁴ Parry, p. 33.

³⁵ *Ib.* p. 38.

³⁶ In Parry's Discourse, the date is incorrectly given, 1601.

“Right honorable: the mighty obligations in w^{ch} your honours favours have ever bound mee shall allso assure you of sutch acknowledgements as so great Causes canne affect in a hart w^{ch} desireth nott to be ungrattfulle: & though my disasture hath beenne in no one thing great thē thatt eyther the unfairness of the ways or messengars have kept my letters frō you, w^{ch} carryed wth thē unto yo^r honour those woordas w^{ch} I will act wth my livs service, or yf your honour have receaved thē, thatt you have nott voutchsafed me one only answere, yatt nothing shall make mee desist frō this, & graats kind of dutys, accept thatt fall unto mee frō yow, w^{ch} I canne nott by any means thinck possible to proceed frō so noble & honorable a mynd ass yours, in confidence of w^{ch}, ass I have heretofore, so will I now, yield anne account unto your honnour ass patrō of mee & of my actiōns of whatt I have donne, and of y^e true occasions w^{ch} drue mee into thē, the beegannings of w^{ch}, yf they may be defended by your favour, ther endes shall be diracted ass mutch to your honour ass you will yourself guyd mee w^{ch} bear thē: your honour knoweth the fortunes of my house & frō how great expectationes ovr sins or disasturs brought ytt, both in estatt, & in disgrace: & though my hope in ytt, wass least of any w^{ch} wass of ytt: yett my part wass greatest in the qll, (sequel?) since my imploimentes abroad, & fashiō att home, gave a shadow to idle iudgmentes to lay the wayght of the wholle misfortune uppō mee: how miserable a burden this must be to a mynde w^{ch} hade a true feeling of the present evell, & was desperatt of any returne of good, your honour in the vertue of your owne mynde & wisdom will easily iudge: I protest unto you ytt wass sutch, thatt the reasons of my Cōfert turned to bee the most forcable occasions of my torment: & those her M^{rs} excellent eys, w^{ch} ass I have heartofor seene, ass the fayarest light as of the worlde, my fortune made mee esteeme myself so unwoorthy to beehould thē, a withered brauntch cutt of frō any hope of good, thatt I rather desired banishment, or deathe, thē to bee beeheeld by thē, blotted by suttch a censur of the world, in that fresh ruin I wass in, yett do I oppō the knees of my hart acknowledge the greatnes of my fault in departing from her Ma^y, wthout the blessednes of her gracious favour; w^{ch} I have ever since only laboured for, wth the uttermost indevours, w^{ch} my travall, expense, or hazard, could bring foorth woarse effectes; butt ass my purpose wass to satisfye the worlde in my self thatt I wass too woorthy to have the decay of my house layed onne mee, I desirad to doe soome extraordinary thing w^{ch} moughte honour her M^{ys} most excellent persone, bring generall profitt to my Country, & disburden myself of the spread ignomyny w^{ch} wass allso by soome of my best frendes daily passed over mee, w^{ch} bycause ytt bare wth ytt so great endes, & my state w^{ch} I then wass in, wass lykly to make mee more skornde for the thought of thē, then to give hope for the performaunce: I departed wth my resolutiō inclosed in my owne breast, knowing thatt, the good effectes would give mee my rewarde, & the qll (sequel?) shoulde breede me noe skorne; no manne knowing mor endes of my going then thatt I wass gonne: and now God, & her Ma^{ty}s fortune have brought ytt to sutch a full-

nesse, thatt her Ma^y after the mighty resistances w^{ch} shee hath thus longe made against her mighty prowde Ennemy, hath nott only gloriously prevailed in ytt, but allso brought sutch anne admiratiō of her exceeding vertues & woorthinas to all thos great Princes w^{ch} have benne hyd frō oure knowledg by the shadow of the King of Spayns farr stretched winges, thatt they doe nott only desir, butt have sent to lay the desyre of ther Amitye wth her, att her M^{ys} Roiall feet: I have layed open the treasures of other Countrys for her Subiectes, in sutch a free sorte, ass the Commissiō w^{ch} I will present your honour wth, doth shew: w^{ch} ass ytt hath benne longe sought for, & mor desired by owr marchantes, so I hope ytt will be the woorthier prasant for your honoure, to whō I doe wish frō my very hartt all good, & honour, & lett me desire once more of your honour thus mutch, that ass you have ever favoured good spirettes, w^{ch} have declined nott so mutche ass to base thoughtes, so thatt neyther the error of my going in the sort I dyd, nor absence, nor misfortunes, nor thatt wilde beast of the worlde mallice, w^{ch} ever waytethe uppō best actions, remove thatt constant dispositiō so woorthy of yow, butt thatt yow laad my humblest desire & petitiones before heer most excellant M^y, & lay thē, my lyf, & fortune, prostrated befor heer most excellent Roiall feet, for a redeeming sacrificise for my fault, & thoughe I doe confesse the greatnes of my offce, yatt besydes the assured Confidence w^{ch} I have in heer owne excelling goodnes and your honourable favour, & the intressiō of my owne humblest prayers, I may be thought to deserve soome relenting frō the heyth of Indignaciō, by the precious dearnes w^{ch} I hould heer favour in; since I have only used the favoure & love of the King of Persia for her glory, & left the possessiō of ytt to behould heer persone, w^{ch} I so mutch reverence: neyther yss ytt my will thatt I am first gonne to the Emperour of Germany, my duty & desire comanding me the contrary, butt the headstrongenes of my yok-fellow, whoe canne understand no other reasō thē the barre comandement of his M^r w^{ch} indeed wass so: therfor I most humbly desir of your honour allso, your directiones thyther, thatt I may nott faille in any respect to heer M^y nor your self, who I doe desir ass mutch to honour, ass to be directed by: this gentlemanne Mr. Parry I have sent purposely for thatt cause, whoe your honour will please allso soodaynly to dispatch wth your instructiones & favoure, w^{ch} yf you will nott bestow of mee for my self, yett I know yow will for thatt I have doune, w^{ch} canne nott fall to evell, wher so noble & honorable a mynd lyves ass your honour hath: whos I will ever be

“ In all humble & faythfull service,

“ A. SHERLEY.”

“ Arkangell this 10 of June. [1600.]

“ Your honour will give me leave to say one worrd in idlenes of my judgment concerning this Country, this King ass hee ys beyond expectation of fortune or hope comme to this kingdome, so himself knoweth not how to carry his place better, then wth a only desir to be knownen to be a king, w^{ch} maketh him so desirous to send &

receave Embassadges, he hath a daughter whō he will marry to a prince³⁷ & whatt prince he careth nott so hee bee a prince, for w^{ch} intent he first sent for this Sweden w^{ch} ys wth him & since hath tryed Maximiliā wth how great judgement your honour knoweth, a woorthless manne in himself & on thatt, canne bring nō advantadg wth him, butt for the last cast he reserveth the first, whose dangerousnes to our statte of Marchants being wholly Spannish & a woorker agaynst uss already, yss lykly to be moř acted whē his fortune shall mak him moř able; therfor yf her M^y doe butt in kindnes of speache offer him any gentleman of spiritte whom she will vouchsaf to call Cosine: all will bee broken, & whatt receaved to the infinit benefitt of her Merchantess, while trade may be assuredly opened by ytt to the Indias, this your honour will pardon in mee, ass anne idle thoughte, and no otherwise, butt to confesse to your honour my desire, ytt yss infinit, to draw thatt welth and glory to our natiō w^{ch} this Ritch treasure of the indias doth promise us, the substance of this natiō your honour shall find by ther Embascidour whoe yss tyed to his Curtesas by Cōmissiō: & most nott mak a reverance, mor, nor otherwise, thē ytt yss written.”³⁸

The reason of the ill success of the preceding letter, as well as the real intentions of the Government at home on the subject of Sir Anthony Sherley's Embassy, appears by the following Dispatch from Sir Robert Cecil to Mr. Lello, the Queen's Resident at Constantinople, it is copied from a draft in the State Paper Office, and bears date October 17, 1600.

“Because I doubt not, but you may have heard, as well of S^r Anthony Sherley's returne into these partes as you dyd of his passage into Persia, I have thought good, to make you acquainted wth that w^{ch} is true, least common bruit should abuse you, or leave you unhable to satisfy such as peradventure would be gladd to scandalise the Credytt w^{ch} our nation carryeth in those partes. first, you must know, that he went out of this Countrey, without any manner of allowance from her Ma^{ty}, nether was she ever, since his departure, consenting to any purpose or proiect of his, onely upon his arryvall in Persia, he wrott many lres to his fath^r and freends what wonders were done by him there, insinuating that that Princes amity might be of great use to the Queen, and that himself was of so great credytt with him, as he could undertake to settle great security and commodity to our merchants; Her Ma^{ty} considering first of the state of those Contries, and the way for trafficq, w^{ch} is propounded, to passe through Moscovy, dyd not onely thinck the matter in it self altogether inconvenient, but dyd also forsee, how dangerous it might have ben to her Merchants trade with the Grand Sig^r yf any such fond practise, should have ben sett on fote. And therefore she dyd presently

³⁷ “A daughter whom he will marry to a Prince.” For the Czar's desire of alliance with England himself, see Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, vol. iii. 47.

³⁸ S. P. O. Russia. Orig. endorsed x^o Junii 1600. (1601.) S^r Antho Sherley to my M^r.

cause all his frends here to reprove him for his folly and vanity, notwithstanding, before such word could come unto him, he hath taken upon him to be an Ambassad^r to all the Princes of Europe, to unite themselves in a League with the Persian, for w^{ch} purpose he cam thorough Muscovy, and a Persian Embassadour jornd wth him, where he was long detayned, from thence he came by sea to Embden, and tooke the audacity to write to the Queene for leave to come to her, assuring her that after he had ben with the Emper^r he would bring her from the Persian, a Grant of all Previledges and Immunities for her subiects yf they would trade there, and to that ende desired liberty to come unto her. Hereupon Her Ma^{ty} hath increased her former displeasure towards him so farr, in respect of this presumption, as by no meanes she will suffer him to come into the Kingdome: but wholly rejected any such offer: so as you may plainly answer, yf you find any suspition conceaved, or any sinistre practises, because a Subiect of her owne is joined in Commission wth y^e Psian, that her Ma^{ty} could not shew more respect to any Prince in the world in such a case, then she hath done to him, to whom she accompts herself beholding for his iust usadge of her subiects: He is with the Emperor now, and from thence goeth to the K. of Spayne, the Fr. King and the Pope, as he geveth out. The proiect is, to convaye from China y^e commodity's thorough Persia to Astracan, ouer Mare Caspium, where in yf it be considered how long a way it must pass thorough Muscovy, w^{ch} must make it chardgeable, considering y^t it shalbe at all tymes in his power to hinder it, there is no man of any sense, that would imagine (yf it were true, that the goods of China could passe such a long way thorow Moscovy) that there should be any great Comodity had by it;—As I shall heare further particulers of this matter, you shalbe advertised, In the meane I have thought good to give you a tast hereof, that you may be provided upon all occasions, to answ^r trewly and substantially in y^e matt^r.”³⁹

Mr. Lello's acknowledgment of the above, is dated 24th of January, 1600-1. It is addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, and is as follows.

“Right hon^{ble} Yo^r honnors of the 17 October came to my hands in good tyme, for that the morning following the vizroy that now is, Affis Amatt Bassa enuch, a greate enemy to our nation, by the french, his meanes, had informed gran Signior of S^r Anthony Shurley his proceedings wth the Persian, of his beinge wth the Emperor, & of his future Employments to be made to the Kings of Spayne, ffrance, & other Princes, whereof the Admirall Cigall Ogli advised me, & that I should answeare the same, w^{ch} by yo^r hons. good meanes I did, to the grand Sig^r his good satisffection & contente.”⁴⁰

³⁹ S. P. O. orig. draft. Turkey. Endorsed, “17 Octob^r. 1600. To Mr Lello, concerning S^r Anthon: Sherley, from Secretary Cecill.”

⁴⁰ S. P. O. orig. Turkey.

Sir Anthony Sherley's reception at Prague by Rodolph II. Emperor of Germany, appears to have been extremely favourable; he arrived in the autumn of 1600. Anthony Nixon, (an author, however, on whom there is no dependence,) tells us of the magnificence of his entry, and of the feasts and revels with which he was entertained: we have Sir Anthony's own authority, that he refused all Titles of Honour offered by the Emperor on this occasion; ⁴¹ he could not, however, have done otherwise, as his own experience must have taught him, provided, (which at this period there appears no reason to doubt,) he was sincere in his desire of being allowed to return to England.

After six months' residence in Prague, during which time Sir John Hollis, ⁴² being on his travels, and passing through that city, became, at the desire of Sir Anthony, the bearer of a complimentary note from him to Cecil, ⁴³ and was requested by him "to be the Testimony & relator of the passage of his business there," Sherley departed for Rome, passing through Nuremburgh, where he remained four days; from thence to Augsburgh, thence to Munich, where he was well received by the Duke of Bavaria, and by Inspruck and Trent to Rome, ⁴⁴ where he arrived the beginning of April, 1601. His reception here also was very flattering; it is thus noticed, together with many other curious details in a letter written by the celebrated father Parsons, ⁴⁵ "*to one Eure in England.*" Of this letter there is a copy in the handwriting of Mr. Thomas Phillips, in the State Paper Office. Phillips had been retained by Sir Robert Cecil as early as 1596, and appears to have been employed by him in intercepting letters and various other secret services, by which means that artful minister obtained a pretty accurate knowledge of the designs of the Jesuits both at home and abroad.

"You shall understand we have heare a Persian Embassador Sr Antony Sherley who at his coming was receaved very solemnly being brought in by all the nobilitye and Gentlemē of Roome and hath now remayned here these 3 or 4 weekes, There is wth him an assistant a Noblemā of Persia and wth him 6 or 7 Persians more. Betwixt

⁴¹ S. P. O. orig. Venice. S^r A. S. to L^d Ch: Justice Popham. July 20. [1601.]

⁴² Sir John Hollis, afterwards created Earl of Clare.

⁴³ S. P. O. orig. Domestick. [1600.]

⁴⁴ Nixon's Pamphlet. P. sig. I. 2.

⁴⁵ Robert Parsons, born in Somersetshire in 1546, became a Jesuit in 1575, and died Rector of the English College at Rome in 1610. See Dodd's Church History, ii. 403.

S^r Antony & his assistant since their coming hither, there hath beene, and is, no small unkindnesse, w^{ch} having begun at Prague yet it since encreased, is now become so great that the Persiā hath sought by what meanes he can be discharg^d of him, first by clayming the principall place in the Ebassage and thē columniating him y^t while he was in Persia he was of the Persian Religion, w^{ch} S^r A. utterly denyeth to be true, though he confesseth he went in Persiā apparell the better by y^t conforming himselfe to be amongst Turcks & Christians. Agayne he accuseth S^r A. to have persuaded him while they were in Muscovia to have gon into Engl: wth him, where he chargeth him to have sent such presents as the K. of Persia had willed to be givē to the Christian Princes, w^{ch} he sayeth were worth 3, or 400000^x. the w^{ch} S^r Antony to dispute, hath this Persians owne hand, for being entred on his journey before the Persiā, and expecting with him the presents on this side the Caspiā Sea, where opening the chests, he found them worth but about some 3000 crowns and t^t the^y were unmete presents for many Princes & very unfitt to countenance out his Embassage; rather chosing to give none at all, he receaved a note under the Persians hand as well of the Parcells value, and thē fayning as though he would send thē into England, returned thē by marchants agayne into Persia. Thus is S^r A. much troubled wth his assistant. You shall receave letters here of his negotiations w^{ch} consisteth of 2 heads, the one concerning matter of religion, the other leaague wth Christian Princes against the Turcke, for the first he will give leave for buyldg of Chappels & Churches, & full libertye for exercise of Christian Religion, to the w^{ch} also he will compell the Georgians y^t be under him; besides the Christians shalbe free under him for impositions in respect of th^r religiō, and shall also have liberty to dispose of th^r goods and th^r lands as they will. For the other he will give 5000 horse, besides other profit, & assist them, if they will agayne attempt for the holy land. S^r A. demeaneth himselfe heer very well, w^{ch} also I learne he hath done ever since his being at Prague where he was reconciled: He denyeth himselfe to have been a Protestant ever since his first being at Venice for y^t there he was reconciled as he sayth by D. Tourant (?) now dead. And since his being at Prague, & here also, he hath used to frequent confessiō every 7 or 8 day; He hath taken for his Ghostly father one Bartholomew Pigot an assistant of the Society, and upō Easter Eve he did communicate here, upon Easter day he dined here in the English Colledge and was in conversatiō after dinner among the fathers wher he did so well discours, besides after that one of his servants, concerning likelihood of casting relligiō in Persia, y^t many of our fathers were very much enclined to be imployed their.

“ S^r A. Sh: hath no great mind to retorne any more into England, as well for y^t th^r E. of Essex & most of his speciall frendes are gone, as also for y^t his father is very rigorously & wrongfully as he say^th had in durance by the Q. for y^t uppō his accompt the Q. resteth 22000^{li} in his dett, & so clearly found, yett she seazed all his livg^s into her handes, made a sale of them, & used su^{ch} rigor towards him, y^t no man might buy of thē, unlesse first favour be bought for S^r Thomas his father. Besides he complayneth of much maltreting, done his brother by S^r R. C. in taking away his

wif & keping her openly, whereoppon he hath taken Shipp & gone out of Engl: wth full purpose néver to retorne.⁴⁶

"30 Aprilis." [1601.]

The above very remarkable letter, lets us in some degree behind the scenes at this period of Sir Anthony Sherley's career; although he had secretly changed his religion, he had not given up all hopes of being received at home, if not in Elizabeth's time, he had taken care, as will appear hereafter, to secure some influence with her successor in Scotland. The Religious schemes which he amused the fathers by broaching, are not without interest, though it is to be feared he had little authority for them: it is curious also to observe the false light in which he represents his father's extravagance, and the serious accusation which he brings against Cecil, of detaining his elder brother's wife; an accusation for which there appears not the slightest foundation, and which he probably invented for the occasion.

Sir Anthony remained in Rome till the month of July 1601, he then secretly departed, attended by only one man and his Page,⁴⁷ and went to Ancona;⁴⁸ from whence it was supposed he intended returning into Persia;⁴⁸ his companion, the native of that country, (with whom Sir Anthony had quarrelled,) being dispatched to the King of Spain, "well provided by the Pope with money and letters of credit."⁴⁸ Nixon's pamphlet utterly misrepresents and falsifies the whole of these facts, he makes the Persian to go straight to his sovereign, Shah Abbas, and there, in his Majesty's presence, he having traduced Sherley, is made to lose his hands and his tongue, and finally his head, the last at the special and *merciful* request of "*Master Robert Sherley.*"⁴⁹

The reason of Sir Anthony Sherley's sudden departure from Rome is involved in some doubt; it seems that shortly before he left that city, he had been robbed by one of his servants of the copies of the King of Persia's letters to the Emperor, and of the Emperor's to the Pope; with these and

⁴⁶ S. P. O. Rome. Endorsed "From F. Parsons to one Eure in England Touching S^r A. Sherley at Rome."

⁴⁷ S. P. O. Turkey. Mr. Lello to Sir R. Cecil. Aug. 2. 1601.

⁴⁸ S. P. O. Germany. Mathew Greensmith to Sir R. Cecil. Aug. 1601.

⁴⁹ Nixon's Pamphlet, sig. I. 3.

other papers, the servant escaped to Constantinople, and brought them to the Turkish Government, by whom he hoped to be rewarded: all this appears in a dispatch from the English Ambassador at the Porte to Sir Robert Cecil, dated August 2, 1601.⁴⁷ His own account, as stated in a letter to Lord Chief Justice Popham, is that "because he would not at Rome incline to the Spaniards and go into Spain, his business was ruined by the Spaniards."⁵⁰ Be this as it may, he appears to have left Rome in disgrace, and to have gone, not to Persia, but to Venice; from whence several letters which are given in the next chapter are dated, and which city remained his head quarters for some years.

⁵⁰ S. P. O. orig. Venice. July 20. [1601.]





CHAPTER III.

THE fall of Essex had naturally considerable effects on the fortunes of Sir Anthony Sherley; indeed, the connection which subsisted between them, and the unbounded respect and admiration in which that unfortunate Earl was held by his cousin, would no doubt have induced him, had he been in England at the time, to have joined the fatal conspiracy which resulted in the execution of Essex and the destruction of his party.

To his connexion with Essex, Sir Anthony himself ascribes some portion of the envy and jealousy with which he was regarded at home.

“If then,” he says, “it be only because my Lord of Essex’s name was set as an honor in his flourishing upon me, & my actions, wipe away that, and let them be looked on and myself without that, neither do I hear that the opinions of any mans affections to him nor his relations, was so pernicious as it falleth to me, which was farthest removed in place and knowledge from his actions; *Justum est homines propter justitiam diligere, non autem justitiam propter homines postponere.*”¹

If, however, the patronage of the Earl of Essex was fatal to the hopes which Sherley had entertained of his mission being favourably received in England, the same cause led to a different result in Scotland; King James had long secretly corresponded with Essex, and was disposed therefore to regard with favor the friends of that unfortunate nobleman. Accordingly, he granted at Edinburgh in the year 1601, a commendatory letter in Latin, in favour of Sir Anthony Sherley, addressed to Shah Abbas, Emperor of

¹ S. P. O. orig: Venice. Sir. A. S. to Ch: Justice Popham, July 20. [1601.]

Persia, in which he compliments his Majesty on his success against the Turks, and anticipates the downfall of that nation; he then glances at the death of Essex, and the political state of parties in England, from whence he fears, no assistance to the King of Persia can be hoped at present; for this reason he had advised Sir Anthony Sherley to remain quiet, and to consider himself in some sort an exile, and hints that hereafter, when he himself should succeed to the Crown of England, success may with greater probability be expected; he ends by highly praising the ability and diligence with which Sir Anthony had discharged his duty.²

We must now follow Sir Anthony Sherley to Venice, whither he retired from Rome, and from whence he addressed several letters to his friends in England; to give them all would be tedious, but the following extracts are too curious to be omitted.

Sir Anthony Sherley to Sir Robert Cecil. "Venice this 3^d of March." [1602.]

"Right honourable. I have heard by Master Tracy³ how much I am bound to your honourable opinion of me, in this time of the eclypse of my fortune, in which the worst sort of the world have taken advantage to lay upon me all sorts of defamations," &c.

—"If I departed from her Majesties presence, (not her service) without her gracious favor, the necessity of my fortune will say for me, that either I must needs have done so, at that time, or have endured the rigor which usually followeth great debts, and no ability to satisfy them." &c.

"Of my proceedings at Prague your honor hath received them from so worthy and wise a relator, that I will not now make them worse by my own,⁴ from Rome I sent my cousin Henry Wotton,⁵ of whom neither I, or any one else, hath ever since heard, so that I am with my great sorow assured, that the advice of those proceedings are perished with him, which since they are now acted, I will not buy to myself the reputation of the disclosing them, when it is but in courtesy whether I shall be beleived to have found out the first counsels of them, more than other men which now do know them because they are acted."⁶

² The original is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. See Appendix C.

³ Master Tracy, son probably of his brother in law, Sir John Tracy.

⁴ He here alludes to Sir John Hollis, afterwards Earl of Clare, who, as stated before (page 32) was the bearer of a letter from Sir Anthony to Cecil, S. P. O. Domestick. [1600.]

⁵ Cousin Henry Wotton. The connexion, if any, between Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Anthony Sherley, I have not been able to discover.

⁶ S. P. O. orig. Venice.

Sir Anthony here probably alludes to the landing of the Spaniards in Ireland in the year 1601; he had no doubt learned the secret of that expedition from the Jesuits, and would make us to believe that he sent Cecil private information by Sir Henry Wotton of the attempt; the real reason of Wotton's journey, which was to give King James private information from the Duke of Florence of the discovery of a plot to take away his life, was probably equally unknown to him with the route which he took to Scotland, viz. by Norway; a journey which was conducted so secretly, (Wotton being disguised as an Italian,) that his death appears to have been reported.

Extracts have been already given of letters from Sir Anthony Sherley to Chief Justice Popham, written at this period; their object was uniform, viz. to show his anxiety to be received into favour again, and to declare that he remained loyal to her Majesty; such is the purport of the following letter, "To the most excellently woorthy & honourablest Lady the Countesse of Cumbland."⁷ which, as a good specimen of the author's style, shall be extracted at length.

"Most woorthy & most honorable Ladye:

"Your vertus w^{ch} have mad you rare in the Condition of your sex, hath bounden all true respect unto you from all those w^{ch} have a feeling consideratiō of virtue & goodness, & myne, so mutch & so strongely, thatt ther yss nothing doth satisfye mee mor in the manifauld miserys w^{ch} my fortune & mallyce multipliethe uppō mee, then thatt I ever faythfully honour you: w^{ch} I could nott doe yf I had any dishonest thoughts in mee, your name being a very counterpoiso^r (?) to all unworthynes: madā I have ever caryed my deliberations to the best endes w^{ch} my iudgement^e would tourne the aspectes unto: I have refused honnours & infinit gratiteudes for my payns & travells, frō Princes to whō I moughte have benne otherwise most bound, only bycaus they wear suspected to our State: I have suffered indeigence ytt self, & even heavy scandals & defamations: all these canne nott moove mee frō the duty I owe to her Ma^{ty}, naturall respect to my cuntrye, & regard to my first & last reputatiō, yett am I even att this instant plunged into sutch anne extremitye, thatt yf God dyd nott strenkthē mee against the reasonablest passiō thatt ever was, I know nott whyther my owne weaknes would carrye mee: tho I have this longe tyme separated myself frō the world, kept myself secrett, only attending to give the King thatt sent mee good satisfactiō, to instruct my brother how

⁷ Countess of Cumberland, Margaret, third daughter of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, by his first wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John St. John, of Bletso, born 1560, died 1616, married to the celebrated George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland.

hee should carry himself, & to have only in the rest a carefull reguarde that the mery or yll spiritte of any part of the world should have no quality of advantadg against me: now yss ther a fellar of a vyle occupatiō one wyll-sonne anne Intelligencer whoe hath sayed & writtē thatt he hath letters of that violence against mee frō the Quene & Counsell thatt no Inglishe manne must eyther converse wth mee or any of myne: w^{ch} thoughe att the first ytt dyd almost mak mee desperat, yett uppō better consideratiō I could nott persuad my self thatt her maiestye, whoe hathe ever beene so rarely excellent in all her actions, so mercifull, so wise, so just, neyther her Counsell w^{ch} both in the suters arr electat for ther woorthines, besydes the borrowing of a lardge infusion frō heer, would consent to so cruelle a judgement & unjust, ass to condemme so extreamly a gentlemā unheard, or in whō so great a cause of yll was never nor canne never be proovad: most woorthy lady, I besetch you by your self & by him thatt hath givē you all honour & virtues, to ease mee of this intollerable burdē, & to lett me know why I should be constrayned by force of untruthes to leape into precipitat courses, w^{ch} any Gentlē doth abhor to think of: & lett not mee have caus to say this tyme yss more miserable th y^e formar: w^{ch} had that charitable feeling of mens livis & reputations, that yff the error of any one iudgement carryed him to the king of Spayns service, they would wth all good means labour to aplye him to his country & himself, & nott by the eternally nott only rejecting his humillyty, his patiens, his beseetching, butt overpressing him wth intollerable iniurys, force him frō himself, & his Prince & his Countrye; to this effect I have allso writtē to my Lord Cheife Joustice, whoe I know besyds thatt he yss most wise & honorable, hee allso feareth the God, w^{ch} yss the foundatiō of all true wisdō: wth him I besetch you good madā speak, & lett mee know how I am, for I know whatt I am: w^{ch} I will never chaundg frō, thoughe I indur mor wth the greatest patience ever . . . & your Ladishipe will pardō mee thatt I have writtē to violently in a case w^{ch} towrtcheth mee so near; protesting before God, thatt I have done ytt out of a hart ever overpressat wth sourow: & to you, ass to a ladye thatt ever yss so full & ritch in good motions, that I assure myself of all helpe & Comfort frō you, ass a ladye w^{ch} yss anne eternalle honnour to your self & sex: for excellent goodnes, rare vertue & unspotted honour, w^{ch} I will ever & ever wth the best strenkth & will I have,

Serve respect & reverence.

"A. SHERLEY." ⁸

"Venice this 20 of July:" [1602.]

Mr. Thomas Wilson, afterwards Sir Thomas, was "*the fellar of a vyle occupation*," here alluded to, he was at this time employed at Venice by Sir Robert Cecil, to watch the proceedings of Sir Anthony Sherley; it would appear from his dispatches, partly in cipher, in the Venetian correspondence

⁸ S. P. O. orig. Venice.

in the State Paper Office, that Wilson had detected Sir Anthony's intercourse with Spain as early as the month of June, 1602. "He hath also very lately sent a messenger unto the King of Scots, to show him the plots, which he understands are wrought against him in England, and how he hath no way to obtain his purpose there, but by joining himself with Spain."⁹

To counteract these schemes, Wilson applied to the Venetian Government; his object was to have Sir Anthony punished for plotting with Spain "to the prejudice of her Majesty." The Government, however, refused to interfere, "unless her Majesty or the Council pleased to write about it, they would then do that which should be fit." Wilson ends the letter in which he sent home an account of these proceedings, by saying, that he thinks his letters from Genoa, Milan, and elsewhere are intercepted, "by the means of that pernicious practiser with the Spaniard," He adds, "I am forced at this present, to change my lodging, and live very retired, and make it be given out that I am gone out of Town, only to shun his impudent company, which intrudes himself every day by force, only to spy by me, whether I know of his practises, so now he will make me a good dissembler."¹⁰ Again in another letter, dated from Venice the 9th of August 1602, Mr. Wilson writes on the delicate point of the expected succession,—

—"I remember one thing now, which I have not written before, when he [Sir Anthony Sherley,] thought, that I thought myself greatest in his books, he discoursed to me the danger and trouble which must needs come after the death of her Majesty, I (fleeing such discourse, but being forced to say something,) answered, that I hoped good and prudent counsel would prevail well in that point, he replied, how can that be? when they all do nothing but work against the mightiest; the rest may easily be understood, it is most apparent that he means to make that, his way to repair his broken credit, and I beleive he is persuaded by the viper at Rome,¹¹ to work the conjunction of the King of Scots and Spain, for it was also one of the particularities which was told me, by the first discoverer of these matters;—And that said viper did procure him 1000 crowns of the Pope when he was there, albeit now he makes profession of open enmity to him, and saith that his treating with the ministers of Spain, was onely to break his neck, and do his country service—a fair tale."¹²

⁹ S. P. O. Venice. Tho. Wilson to Sir R. Cecil. June 23, 1602.

¹⁰ S. P. O. Venice. Tho. Wilson to Sir R. Cecil. July 3, 1602.

¹¹ Father Parsons?

¹² S. P. O. Venice. Tho. Wilson to Sir R. Cecil. Aug. 9, 1602.

Another "Intelligencer," from Venice, Mr. Simon Fox, writing on the 20th of June, 1602, observes,

"Sir Anthony Sherley hath been lately assaulted in this City, or at leastwise maketh it to be given out so, and that one of his company was sorely hurt, himself happily escaping the blow, was borne over a bridge into the water, and this was done somewhat before midnight."¹³

The next notice which I find of this remarkable person is contained in some advertisements from Venice, by the same Mr. Simon Fox, dated April 27, 1603; from which we perhaps may conclude that his arrest had been officially demanded by the Council at home, if indeed his debts did not lead to the same unpleasant catastrophe.

After giving an account of the news of the imprisonment of Sir Thomas Sherley, "in a certain obscure island near unto Scio," Fox proceeds,

—"His brother Sir Anthony Sherley, lieth also fast in these prisons, and so far are we here from knowing anything of his business that we know not whether he be living or dead, one especial pillar of his hopes and deliverance is certainly dead: which is the Spanish Ambassador, resident here, called Francesco de Vera,¹⁴ who hath had his exequies solemnized here at the charge of this City with admirable pomp."¹⁵

The news of the accession of King James, which must soon afterwards have reached Venice, was probably the signal for the deliverance of Sir Anthony Sherley; in the meantime the mention of the imprisonment of his brother, Sir Thomas, naturally leads us to recur to his history. We are told by Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, that Sir Thomas Sherley,

"ashamed to see his two younger brothers worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered on the stalk he grew on, determined to leave his aged father and a fair inheritance in Sussex, and to undertake sea voyages into foreign parts, to the great honor of his nation, but small enriching of himself."

I have already, however, given Sir Thomas's own account of the true reasons which induced both him and his brothers to leave their native coun-

¹³ S. P. O. Venice. June 20, 1602.

¹⁴ For an account of him, see Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico de Espana*, 1622. i. 487. His Relation of Venice addressed to Philip of Spain is existing in MS. in the British Museum.

¹⁵ S. P. O. Venice. April 27, 1603.

try ; Sir Anthony, indeed, has well and succinctly expressed them, *Great debts, and no ability to satisfy them.* Urged by such arguments, Sir Thomas left England in the autumn of 1602. An account of his voyage is given at length in the rare pamphlet of Anthony Nixon, published in 1607, on Sir Thomas's return to England ; it is an authority, however, as I have before remarked, on which little reliance can be placed, and it will be more satisfactory, therefore, to extract from his own letters, and those of others written at the period, some slight but faithful notices of what really took place. His progress as far as Legorne is thus mentioned in a letter from George Wright to Mr. Francis Cherry, dated December 30, 1602.

—"Sir Thomas Sherley with his two ships set sail from hence two days past for the *Arches of Pelligoe* (Archipelago) to take Turks under this Duke's banner, he took in here thirty Greeks and Italians, that were soldiers in the Gallies, and he hath taken an Englishman one Pecock for his pilot, besides an Irishman that is married and dwelleth in this Country, also he hath taken in some twelve or fourteen English mariners, that were here, which did belong to a ship, that the aforesaid Pecock cast away at Ancona, I am in doubt he will spoil the Turkey trade, although he go under the Duke's banner, we will from hence write to our English Ambassador at Constantinople of him, that he may make some way, before the great Turk understand of it by exclamation of his people which shall be robbed or spoiled." ¹⁶

The next account which we have of Sir Thomas is from Constantinople, in a letter from Mr. Lello, the English Ambassador there, to Sir Robert Cecil, dated February 26, 1602-3.

—"Right Honourable, it may please you now to be advised somewhat as touching S^r Thomas Sherley, his proceedings in these parts, who, (as I understand by one of his company come hither to seek him,) hath been at Florence with the Duke, and after private conference had with him, departed and came hither into Archipelago, where at an Island called Zia, (Zea) wanting victualls,¹⁷ put on shore forty of his men, and followed himself with some of his gentlemen, and whether to take it by force or otherwise, I cannot as yet learn the truth thereof, but it should seem they used no friendly and lawful means to procure it, in that, the people of the Island, the Turks' subjects armed themselves against them, beating them back, and forcing them to their boats, some of them slain, and S^r Thomas with three or four taken prisoners (on the 15th of January, 1602), where as yet they remain, fearing lest the ship should recover them in

¹⁶ S. P. O. Florence. Dec. 30, 1602.

¹⁷ Sir Thomas himself, in his letter, printed page 13, says, "having sprung a great leak."

their transporting hither, at his coming, when any his sinister designs shall be discovered unto these (the Grand Seignor,) it will go hard with him and the rest, and what I shall alledge in excuse thereof I know will not easily be accepted.”¹⁸

After a month's detention in the small island of Zea, where he had so imprudently, if not with hostile intentions, landed; Sir Thomas Sherley was transferred to Negropont, and was there confined with great rigour, from the 20th of March, till the 25th of July, 1603; he was then sent to Constantinople, “riding upon a pack saddle with a great gally chaine about his legges, and another about his waste.”¹⁹ Soon after his capture it seems that he had foolishly made himself known, and the discovery that he was brother of Sir Anthony and Robert Sherley, whose enmity to the Turkish power was noised throughout Europe, by no means contributed to procure his release.

Had Elizabeth indeed remained on the throne of England, the hopes which Sir Thomas entertained of his liberty would probably have failed; but James was, (perhaps through the influence of Sir Anthony Sherley,) kindly disposed towards him, and within a year after his accession, dispatched by his Ambassador at the Porte, letters to the Grand Seignor for his deliverance: various events, however, delayed for two years the freedom of the unfortunate knight. The State Paper Office contains many letters written by Sir Thomas during this period, he is also constantly mentioned in the dispatches of the Ambassador, Mr. Lello; at one time it appears the Grand Seignor with his own hand signed a warrant for his deliverance, but it was stayed by means of the French Ambassador, who maliciously asserted that Sir Thomas was of ability to ransom himself with 10,000 ducats, and that he had been employed by the Duke of Tuscany against the Porte. The Sultan was also reminded that the imprisoned knight's brothers were in the employment and confidence of the Persian monarch, “alledging the last wars to have been the fruits of their travail.” Money was however the one thing needful, “for with money,” says Lello, “this State will sell any offence or error whatsoever, and regard nothing in respect thereof;”²⁰ a bribe accordingly was offered, and the distribution of 1100 dollars, together with another and more peremptory letter from King James, finally procured the release of Sir Thomas Sherley.²¹

¹⁸ S. P. O. Turkey. Feb. 26, 1602-3.

¹⁹ Nixon's Pamphlet, sig. D.

²⁰ H. Lello to Sir R. Cecil. S. P. O. orig. Turkey. Feb. 11, 1603-4.

²¹ H. Lello to Sir R. Cecil. S. P. O. orig. Turkey. Dec. 19, 1605.

This unfortunate knight was any thing but a patient sufferer during the period of his imprisonment, he was constantly complaining of his hard fortune, and accused the English Ambassador, though it seems with little reason, of being his enemy, and neglecting the means of his enlargement from prison; his sentiments on this subject appear in the following letter which he wrote to his brother Sir Anthony, and entrusted to a certain Friar whom he terms "his assured friend," and who basely betrayed his confidence, intercepting his letters, and delivering copies of them to the Ambassador; the notes in the margin are his Excellency's comments, and addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, Viscount Cranbourne;²² the dispatch in which Sir Thomas Sherley's letter was enclosed is dated June 5, 1605.

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but his Maty
& yo^r hon^{rs}

"My moste honorāble deare brother: I muste needes impute it to one of my worste fortunes that yow doe not receave my letters, for I doe assure yow that I never lett carrier passe wthout sending of dūble packetes unto yow, th'one by the *Englishe Embassador* (w^{ch} is ever suppressed,) th'other by myne assured freind the fryer: And I feare that his confidence in the Frenche Embassador hathe bine the cause that they haue ever myscarred of late, for since his cominge to Constantinople I reposed a greate hope and confidence in him uppon yo^r: comendacōns and asurance. (But to use fewe wordes and leave all circumstances) I find noe kinde of comforte from him, but a right frencheman he hathe shewed himselfe in betrainge bothe yo^r secrits and myne. First he delivered your open letter to the man (*you may imagen*) and since tould him all the complaints and exclamacōns w^{ch} the fryer used agaynste him in my behalf: Now (brother) I praie yow to judge what hope there is of my libertie when you expecte yt by the meanes of only 2 men, of whome th'one carethe not for me, *th'other is myne enemy*, as marke the sequell, and yow will plainlie perceave *firste hee never tooke hould of any opertunitie to ease me*, but hathe geven waye to all meanes to ruine me as Mr. Burton can tell yow. Nexte, he hathe ever wrytten in to England of stronge hopes for my libertie, when hee had none at all. Therby preventinge all further and newe meanes, y^t should there be effected for me, and to increase his hatred to me my father hathe shewed my letters (wrytten againste him) to suche as have certified him of yt. You wryte to me that you have bound him, yf any thing can bind a man, my deerest Brother, wth greefe I speake yt, he is not a man to be bound wth benefits, but to be forced wth sharpe threates and terroures, like a dull horse that must ever be spurred. When he receaveth a freshe letter from the kinge or any councler then he rampeth like a beare for two or three dayes, and then, as Sir Drue Drurie was wonte to

²² Sir Robert Cecil was created Viscount Cranborne in 1604, and advanced to the Earldom of Salisbury in 1605.

saie, finger in mouthe and no more newes: these are my present hopes here, unlesse you, or some other of my frinds can helpe me to some better succor out of Christendom then any that Turkie dothe yet afforde. I am verie glad that you have spoken wth Mr Glover he is a true honest gent and (I am sure) hathe confirmed what I have formerlie wrytten. I praye you use Mr Burton wth that respecte that his love to me dothe deserve w^{ch} (you see) is exceeding greate. And so I comend (him?) to you this laste of Maye 1605.

Yo^r moste affectionat loving poore brother

To: SHERLIE." 23

[Addressed, "To my Honorable deare brother S^r Anthony Sherley Knight."—]

The poor knight's peevish complaints, were however, turned into joy and thankfulness in December, 1605, when on the 6th of that month his deliverance was finally effected; he hastened immediately to express his thanks to Sir Robert Cecil, and does full justice to the honest intentions of the Ambassador Lello; his grateful feelings, as well as his political notions, were also poured forth in a letter to his sovereign, King James, a copy of which is here subjoined.

"It maye please y^r moste excellent maiestye.

To receave y^e humble thankes of ye poorest and moste unfortunate of y^r highnes' servants for those highe favoures, y^t, it hathe pleased y^r maiestye in y^r moste gracious goodnes, to bestowe upon mee in y^t it hathe pleased y^r maiestye (in y^r highe benig- nitye) to wryte diuers letters, to y^e greate turke, for mee, the firste whereof turned ab- solutelye into smoake. What these wyll effecte is yett unknowne bycause the greate turke is nowe gōne in person agaynest certeyne rebelles in Asia y^t have possessed y^{re}- selves of y^e moste of his dominiones there. Y^e succes of this action is like to prove ille, for him, for it was rashelye & unadvisedlye undertaken agaynest y^e advise of his greatest counsellars; & his owne yeeres, & experiens give him not meanes to bee able to manedge importante matters of himself, & yf it bee lawefull for so poore a mā as I am to looke into y^e actiones of greate & potente princes, I wyll bee bolde to advertise y^r maiestye (in fewe wordes) y^t (in all iudiciale coniecture) y^e Turkie Empire had re- ceaved a great checke this so^mer laste passed, yf y^e Emperor had played y^e parte of a Prince, or good capiteyne: for this was y^e turke his estate in maye laste, the kinge of Persia had taken Tauris, y^e principalle and cheyffe frontiere towne y^t y^e turke hathe in those partes, & syns hee hathe twyse this so^mer overthrowen Gigalbo Bashawe (y^e turks generall) in battle, & hathe woⁿe all Media, the rebelles in Asia are stronge aboue four- score thousande men, & haue soe ruined y^t cuntrye y^t the turke receaveth neyther tri- butte nor men frō them to serve him in his wars, the Admiralle Bashawe went to sea

(To) prove his allegacō for Mr Glover I wishe yo^r hon^r would opu- nyne him (if) he be an honest man () wil speake y^t way; but I meuse it be S^r Thom^s Hum^r first I forl his bro- thers l^res ad- vised him to . . . stly upon non, but y^e French & now an other.

soe ille and weakelye furnished as hee had not wth him aboue five and thirtye gallyes to sea, and those not half armed, eyther wth slaues or soldiares, y^e bashawe y^t wente into y^e warres of Hungarii agaynest y^e Emperar went more poorelye provided then anye bashawe y^t was euer sent into those partes & dyd (in truth) soe feare his owne abilitye y^t hee wished himself onelye soe hapye as to keepe & maynteyne his owne frontieres, yett it hathe pleased god to make y^e Emperar negligente, & soe the Christians haue loste, this armye is nōwe called out of Hungarii to ioynwth the greate turke his forces y^t hee hathe allreadie ledd into Asia, this is the presente estate of the easte, & I doe in all humilitey beseeche y^r maiestye to pardoñe my boldenes y^t I presume to trouble y^r sacred eyes wth soe longe a discours: & soe wth my daylye prayers to God to encrease & multiplie all his blessinges upon y^r highnes, I doe moste humblye kisse y^r maiestyes feete, at Constantinople. Y^e 8 of November [1605].

Y^r Maiestyes moste duetifullest and poorest
servaunte and subiecte

THOMAS SHERLEY." ²⁴

"To the kinge his moste exellente maiestye."

Sir Anthony Sherley remained at Venice during the greater part of his brother's imprisonment in Turkey; the accession of James does not seem materially to have altered his position, although he had been in some degree recognized at court, and licensed "*to remain beyond the sea some longer time, and recommended to the Princes, strangers, by whom he may pass,*" the original of this singular license is in Latin, and dated at Hampton Court, the 8th of February, 1603-4.²⁵ About this time he endeavoured to ingratiate himself at home by means of secret information which he afforded of plots to be attempted in England. It does not appear, however, whether the Canon of Vincenza, mentioned in the following letters, was received in England; he was probably disregarded, as Cecil, by means of his numerous spies, thought himself well acquainted with the attempts of the Jesuits to overturn the government, which had soon afterwards so nearly a fatal result in the celebrated Gunpowder Plot.

[S^r Anthony Sherley, to his father S^r Thomas Sherley the elder K^{nt}.]

"S^r I have receaved a letter of the 15 of this present frō Doctor Whorwelle the Canon of Vincenza: in w^{ch} hee sayethe that yf ytt please his M^y to give him a present safcondant, he hathe matters of great importance to discover, & divers great practises against his M^{ys} state & prsō: puntually naming Parsons to be a greate ennemy to his

²⁴ S. P. O. orig. Turkey. Nov. 8, 1605.

²⁵ S. P. O. Docquet. Feb. 8, 1603-4.

M^{ys} realme then ever hee was : & mor busy in his machinations : hee assurethe thatt having receaved his license hee will presently goe to the Ambascidour att Parys, & receive a manne of his to accompany him whoe shalle see thatt hee shalle speak wth no body befor hee bee presented to my Lord Cecille to whō he desirethe to mak his relatiō : (to use his owne woordes) because ytt yss ever goode to handle busines wth wise menne : & after he hathe sayed whatt he canne : wth the same guard he demandethe to bee sent away : in my opiniō the request yss iust & honest, & preiudice ytt canne nott bring to hear him : especially uppō pointes of so great moment as hee proposethe : I know him certaynly to bee anne honest manne, & a true Servant to his M^y & his Country : & ass things arr caryed by soome princes, in my poor iudgement, ytt yss necessary hee wear heard : & I doe suppose thatt whene hee hathe beene once heard hee wilbe allso trusted : you will please to advtise this mutche : & wth alle to remember my brother, the injury of whose case, callethe uppone you for ass speedy remedy ass ytt yss possible : I labour whatt I canne in the mean ty^{me} to comfort him : & wth the Duk of florence his ministers : butt besydes thatt the Duk is a good Prince & loveth mony mor thē his servante : ther yss so great a unitye betweē him & the frentche : thatt he will nott moove against the deed of any of the frentch ministers : I tell you true S^r & other greate occasions will shew ytt : & I would to God this dyd nott shew in my brother's sufferings & all those w^{oe} loove him for his sak, I canne butt pray to God (besydes whatt S^r I doe otherwise) to comfort him & you :

Fro : Venice this 20 of february 1604 :

Your most humble soōnne

[Addressed]

A. SHERLEY." ²⁶

"To The Right w^y my exceeding good
Father S^r Thomas Sherley Knight."

[S^r Anthony Sherley, to S^r Robert Cecil.]

"Right honorable,

"I sent you lately a letter w^{ch} my father delivered and hathe returned mee your Lordships honorable ansuere, neyth^r dyd I euer receive into my opiniō thatt a spiritt so wise & noble as yours would intend mee eval for my honest & constante affectiō to him to whome I was so mutche bounde & in so many titles, & therefore truly honored him, & doe & shall ever loue his memory,²⁷ & will in the same Conditione your Lordshipe, having wth a good hart aplied myself unto you : butt certayne people of anne ylle quality, w^{ch} desire to serve themselves uppone ther owne suppositions, & my nott having the honnour to bee aunswered by your lordshipe, mad mee fear your displeasur, bycause I desired your favour, & thatt I will meritt by ass good effectes ass a gentlemanne canne, who will nev^r diminish the tearmes w^{ch} ar fitt for him.

²⁶ S. P. O. orig. Rome.

²⁷ Essex.

"The greatnes of his Ma^y must of necessity bear with ytt many Emulators, & now mor for envy than for reasone of state: many demonstrations I see: butt bycause they arr yatt mor iudicialle then in effect, I will nott doe so unhappie anne office ass to sow the seed of suspitione betweene princes: butt Doctor Whorwelle the Canone of Vincenza a gentlemanne & therfore in his natur of former (?) good complexiō, hath writtē unto mee punctually to move your Lordshipe for his saf conduct, and to give you his owne termes, bycaus he desirathe to present whatt he canne say to a wise manne, saying thatt he hathe wayghty matters to discourse, importing exceedingly his M^{rs} state & p̃sone: & ytt yss lykly thatt he will speak groundedly: since I know him to bee affectionate to bothe those great pointes, & thoughe he bee a preest, yett is hee a most good patriott: I present his demaund to your Lordshipe understanding it to bee a matter of substance, & the mor bycause hee yss a manne of good reputatiō in thes partes, estemed for his honesty & valour, & the rather I doe ytt in the desire I have thatt your Lordshipe should even mor & mor indear your self to his M^y:

"Yf I canne in my pilgrimadg fashiō any thing w^{ch} may directly bee for your Lordships honour & service, I will nott faylle to doe ytt faythfully: ass a gentlemanne whoe wishethe your Lordshipe all happines: frō Venice this 27 of february: 1604:

Your Lordships moste humble & faythfull to doe youe service

A. SHERLEY." ²⁸

"To the Right honor^b: the Lorde Cecill: on

[of] the Lords of his M^{ys} privy Counselle:
& principall Secretary:"

[Sealed with the Saracens head
the Crest of Sherley.]

Sir Anthony did not confine his attention to English affairs, "The business of Persia," as it was termed, still occupied his mind, and he still endeavoured to interest the Government at home on the subject, by describing the successes which had attended the Persian arms against the Turks. There is reason to believe, however, as we shall presently see, when we come to the consideration of Robert Sherley's residence in Persia; that Sir Anthony's accounts are not entirely to be trusted, although they were probably founded on the dispatches which he received from his brother in the Persian Court. The following letter has no address, but appears to be intended for Sir Robert Cecil, then recently created Earl of Salisbury.

"Right honorable,

"To recreat your Lordshipe in the wearines w^{ch} yow must needs feel wth so many great busines w^{ch} yow manadge: I will present you wth the occurrences of Pertia w^{ch}

²⁸ S. P. O. orig. Rome.

yss my occupatiō therfor I canne speak of them really : the king of Persia besydes Tauris w^{ch} he took by Perviz beague whoe hee mad his generalle for that purpose, hathe proceeded farther & wth great felicity, having acquisted Tiflis, Naxnan, Gizreoa a province of Christiane Nestorians, able to putt in the feeld forty thousand harquebuyiers : besyds all the province of the Coorduis a great natiō, the very strenkthe of the turk in those partes, woonted to serve him wth a 200000 footmē in any occasiō w^{ch} hee commanded thē, & lastly hathe Vans allso in his possessiō the best, strongest, & best munitioned fortresse in all those partes : ayght days after the taking of w^{ch}, he proclaimed in his Campe his marche to Erzaron, w^{ch} yss the only passadg directly fro Constantinople into Persia : Vana yss butt 12 days journey frō Aleppo : & certainly in the consideratiō of the turks force in thos partes, & the king of Persia's force & fortune, I doe nott think butt thatt this year allso hee will bee m^r of Aleppo : all this he hath acquisted w^{thout} blood : every one yeelding w^{thout} resistance : hee making the Governours according to the right of Persia, Channs, thatt yss Princes, w^{ch} succeed by inheritance ass wth uss ; & leaving the rentes of the places freely to them & ther successors reserving only the royaltys & taking away all Customs ; giving freedō to the people, after the Persiā fashiō allso ; then wth the people ther yss no fear in the world : by w^{ch} means your Lordeshipe will consider how easily he will proceede wth a great Conquest ; having force against those w^e will resist him : & making free menne of slaves, to bynd thē to mayntayne his Conquest for ther owne interestes : this yss whatt I have yett receaved : & thoughe ytt bee a course of things otherwise impertinent to your Lordeshipe, yett for recreatiō I present ytt ass I will great^r matters for your honnour & s^rvice, when I shall find thē fitt for you ; ass a gentlemanne whoe ame

Your Lordship's most humble & faythfull in my best service

A. SHERLEY." ²⁹

" Fr : Venice this 5 of March 1604."

In the spring of 1605, very soon after the date of the preceding letter, Sir Anthony Sherley proceeded to Prague, his original intention in going there, as we learn by an expression in a letter from Sir Thomas Sherley the younger, then in confinement at Constantinople, to one Mr. William Burton ; was, to interest the Emperor to obtain his brother's liberty ; his words are, " I am much comforted that my brother hath undergone a weary journey to Prague for me, for without that, or some other way from Christendom, all hopes here are as dead as you left them ; it doth much content me that you are gone to accompany my brother in that voyage." ³⁰ This letter is dated from Constantinople, the last of May, 1605 ; what effect Sir Anthony's

²⁹ S. P. O. orig. Rome.

³⁰ S. P. O. Turkey.

journey might have had, does not appear, his brother so soon afterwards obtaining his liberty by the intervention of his own sovereign. The result, however, of the expedition to Prague was not unimportant to Sir Anthony himself, it is thus expressed in a dispatch from Mr. Lello at Constantinople to Sir Robert Cecil, dated April 20, 1606. "Here we understand, he (the Emperor) hath sent Sir Anthony Sherley to the king of Morocco to stir him up against these, (The Grand Signor,) with whom I judge he will prevail very little."³¹

An account of this Embassy is contained in a rare tract printed in 1609,—

"About this time being the beginning of October (1605,) arrived at Saphia (Saffee,) Sir Anthony Sherley, as Ambassador from the Emperor of Germany, to the king of Morruecos, his attendance was better than a private man, though somewhat wanting of the person from whom he was sent, few of note were in his company being in all about thirteen persons, of every Christian language one, because he would be fitted for interpretation of tongues, amongst these was Sir Edwin Rich,³² whose behaviour was good, and well spoken of in every place where he came, not straining his credit to borrow money, but well provided to serve his own turn, answering to his birth, state, and disbursements for the time. Sir Anthony then taking the title of Ambassador, during four months abode in Saphia, kept open house, invited all Christian Merchants dayly, both to dinner and supper; to supply his own turn for money, he got credit of Jews to take up money, and pay them in Morruecos, but at excessive rate, almost fifty for an hundred."

The Tract proceeds with an account of Sir Anthony Sherley's magnificence and hospitality, the private conferences which he had with the king Muley Boferes, relating to his rebellious brothers, Muley Sheck, and Muley Zedan, and also on the subject of "The great Turke," and the means of expelling him from Algiers and Tunis; Sir Anthony's munificent conduct towards two Portuguese gentlemen whom he redeemed from slavery, is also mentioned, as well as the princely manner in which the knight rewarded an attendant sent to accompany him from the Court to Saffee, by throwing him the hat which he wore from his head, with a jewel of great value thereon.

Sir Anthony's residence during five months in Morocco, if it had not

³¹ S. P. O. Turkey.

³² Sir Edwin Rich. Fourth son of Richard, Lord Rich, and brother of Robert, Earl of Warwick.

much influence on the affairs of Turkey, appears greatly to have added to his fame; his popularity among the soldiery was very great, and his bounty, or rather prodigality, is related to have been extraordinary. The eccentric Toby Mathew, at that time at Florence, thus notices him in a letter to Dudley Carleton, and the news of his brother's deliverance from Constantinople—

“Sr Thomas Shirley hath longe since shaken of his fetters, and lives in Naples like a Gallant; his brother is in Barbary, and in greater shew, than he was in Persia.”³³

We are obliged to the system of intercepting letters, from which indeed great part of the materials of these memoirs are derived, for the two following curious specimens of correspondence. The first was translated by Lord Salisbury's orders, from the original Italian, in which it had been written by Sir Anthony to the Secretary of State of the Emperor of Germany, it inclosed a copy in Spanish, of a letter from the King of Morocco to Sir Anthony on his arrival in his dominions, an English translation of which forms the second document alluded to.

Zuffra, from which Sir Anthony's letter is dated, appears intended for Saffee.

“Most renowned Sr

“The tyme hath ben such an enemye to the speedy dispatch of his Ma^{ties} busines, y^t wher I hoped to have bene returned before this, I have not yett attayned to the kinges presence, who desyreth to knowe him selfe sure in his state before he will hazard any person att the arbitrem^t of an other vanquisher, as he hath lett me understand divers tyme by the Governor of this place. But I make little doubt of his fortune, he being already in possessiō of the kingdome and the Tresor, and holding all the great ones att his devotiōⁿ. Two dayes cannot pass befor every discourse wilbe concluded in effect, the battaile being apointed in the kingdome of Fez. His Ma^{tie} may vouchsaffe to be contēted wth the necessitye of thes accidents, which were not possible in mans iudgm^t to be prevēted, and for the rest to be confident in the enterprise, as much as all discourse of reason can perswade his high wisdom.

“We haue a kinge riche in treasure, oppressed by a potent neybor the Turke. Ill assured of the kinge of Spayne, and if he shall remayne vanquisher of Mulley Xequē, he will retyre himselfe presently to the Great Duke; having made his waye, and keeping a shipp of war of the Gr: Dukes ready for that purpose, in the port of Caracha, wherin is already putt the treasure of Jewells w^{ch} he hath. Yo^r selfe may discourse of

³³ S. P. O. Florence. Aug. 8, 1606.

the rest, whither the great name of th' Emp^r will not be of force to take away all future feares from the kinge, and whither he will not be content to doe more then ever he thought. For my part, my life, tyme, and fortune shall not be spared, to accomplish the sincear loyaltye and affeccōn w^{ch} I beare to y^e service of his Ma^{ty} nether shall ther want any sort of art or industrie. This is all I can saye for y^e present upon this occa^{tiō}, God shall geue happie success unto all for his owne glorye; meane while you^r patience cann not be greater in expectinge the end, then myne in procuringe it. The copie of the kinges lre to me I send unto his Ma^{tie}, the duple thereof shall not be necessary sith all passeth by yo^r owne handes, Unto whom from heaven I wish all happiness frō Zuffra 10. dec. 1605.

“Yo lo^{ps} most devoted to serve you

“ANTH: SHERLEY.”³⁴

[Addressed,] “To the Lo: Baructius, of his Ma^{ties} privy
Consell and his principale secretarye.”

“The kinge of Morrocco to S^r Anth: Sherley.

“This noble writinge & most high & lordly style, cometh from the high sacred & Royall comandm^t of Alfaraxe the Xariffe whose good fortune God maintaine in his dayes, & exalt (wth his favor) his banners & Enseignes.

“To the beloued of noble race whose presence and aspect is desyred of all, the noble and beloued Don Anth Sherley, whom God cōtinue in greatness amongst his owne, & maintayne his prosperitie.

“Wheras yo^r noble lre is come unto us advertizing us of yo^r aryuale att o^r high and sacred Cort, in good tyme, and unto ou^r xarificalle presence.

“Knowe ye y^t ye are aryued to a place of yo^r owne, and to a Cort, gracious, and by the fauor of God, of good entertainem^t & usage.

“We have geuē order to the Gouverno^r of this Citty for yo^r conveniēt and comodious lodginge & comanded him to prouide yo^u of all things necessarye to contentm^t, & to use yo^u wth all kindness.

“And after a whyle (by the fauor of God), ther shall some come unto yo^u, from o^r high estate to bringe yo^u to o^r presence, wth much estimacon respect and goodwill accompanying yo^u to, & from, yo^r lodginge.

“And aryuing in good tyme, to o^r high and sacred howse, yo^u shalbe presently receyued wth all kinde of nobleness and good entertaynment; soe y^t yo^u shall praise God often for yo^r aryuall & cominge to ou^r high Cort.”

“Geuen the 10 of Jumad An^o de 1014.”³⁵

³⁴ S. P. O. Morocco, endorsed, “S^r Anth: Sherley to Baruitius the Emp^{rs} Secretary 10. dec. 1605. frō Zaffrie.” “out of Italiā.” [*Baructius* query *Baruth*?]

³⁵ S. P. O. Royal Letters. Morocco, endorsed, “out of Spanish 1602.” (sic.)

Sir Anthony Sherley departed from Morocco and arrived at Lisbon in the autumn of 1606, this fact is mentioned in a letter from Mr. Hugh Lee, Consul at that city to Lord Salisbury ; with an extract from that letter, and a dispatch written by the knight himself, apparently to the same nobleman, relating to the Portuguese gentlemen whom he rescued from bondage ; we will conclude the present chapter.

—“Sir Anthony Sherley is here arrived out of Barbary, where he hath been employed by the Emperor, as he sayeth, he hath brought with him divers Portingalls, that were captains there, whereof two men of good account which are to yeald him near 50 thousand crowns for their ransome ; he laboureth the enlargement of Hugh Gurnan,³⁶ very earnestly with the Viceroy, and hath received good words, which giveth him hope he shall obtain his desire, God grant he may, his carriage here is very honourable, and sheweth himself very kind unto all his countrymen, that profess to be friends to his Majesty, and to others the contrary ; his purpose is from hence to travel to the Court of Spain, whither I have advised unto my Lord Ambassador, the troubles of Gurnan with the needfull.”³⁷

[S^r Anthony Sherley to The Earl of Salisbury ?]

“Right Honorable,

“I beeseetche your Lordeshipes pardone in that I trooble yow wth a history w^{ch} I thought should have beenne bothe honorable unto mee and of good satisfactiō : and throughe the dispositiō of this people yss fallen owt so contrary thatt I ame forced to beeseetche your Lordships favour to helpe mee in that discharge w^{ch} my owne good mynd and intentions, and vyld naturs of thos w^{ch} I haue giuē lyf and libertye too, haue cast mee unto : My most honorable Lord, the Emperour having imployed mee into Barbary I found to gentlemenne Portugeses ther, w^{ch} had benne prisoners 15 years, and the Country lykwise full of Spanishe Captiues : The Consideratiō of the nue peace betweene Britaine and Spayne : and the yll proceedings of soome partes, mad mee desirous to shew soome extraordinary honnour to be in our hartes, and to draw one besyde a perticuler obligatiō, and reputatiō to our natiō, so that I resolved to deliver those prisoners w^{ch} I knew allso wear well able to pay mee, & wth them thirty other Captives ; for the gentlemen I impawned a ruby to the king of 2 ownces weyght, to bee redeemed wthine half a year : for the other Captives I gave mony and credit, and after the gentlemē wear sent home to my house, a certayne frentch malicious dealour, Agent for his M^y wth that King ; tould the King that hee should be cosened in the rannsme of those gentlemē, I being resolved to intitle the Emperour wth y^{tt} stoane ; and so they beeing out of his hande, hee should bothe loase stoane and the rannsme : my

³⁶ An English Merchant imprisoned by the Inquisition.

³⁷ S. P. O. Spain. Dated from Lisbon, Sep. 8. [1606.]

Juell was already in the kinges hand; and the gentlemē wear to bee returned to prisē; and I was forced to give grat presents to the King and his principall Counselours, to bee contented wth my pawne, to receave allso part mony, part security for the rannsme: so thatt I ingadged myself and my frends for one hundred and threescore thousand ownce, w^{ch} amountethe to sixteene thousand pound sterling: besyde my gyftes w^{ch} I was forced to give for their beeing once in my house to save them frō returning to prison againe, and owne reputatiō: and those arr of no les weayght thenne six thousand pound. besyde my Juell. Thes gentlemē wherof the one ys named Pedro Cæsar Dessa the other Antonyo de Saldanha: sygned wth mee to the papers of divers perticular marchants, of the payment of part of thes soomes att too shillinges the ownc w^{ch} yss currant so amongst all marchants: and beesyde I mad my self eeven naked to deliver them to ther frends and Country: and now I am cōme hear they doe not only deny to pay, butt persecut mee ass mutch ass they dare and canne, wth all the vyld usadge, thatt canne bee devysed, and since the act yss so inhumane, barbarouse and against nations, beeing layed befor so generous a mynd ass your Lordships, I know ytt will breed bothe pytye and disdaine, and as I implor your Lordships favour, and helpe, so I doe most constantly assur my self of ytt: protesting to your Lordshipe thatt I am your true servant; and und^r that title I will ever liue, and doe beseetch God from my hart thatt your Lordshipe may longe liue wth alle prosperity: frō Lisbon this 7 of Septemb 1606.

“Your Lordships

“Most humble and faythfull servant

“A. SHERLEY.” ³⁸

³⁸ S. P. O. orig. Spain.



CHAPTER IV.



CARTWRIGHT, in his Travels, published in 1611, after mentioning the mission of Sir Anthony Sherley to the European Princes, and that his brother "Master Robert Sherley," with five Englishmen were left as pledges for his return, tells us, "all these at the first were very kindly entreated by the King, and received large allowance, but after two years were fully expired, and no news of that great and important Embassy, and the King perceived that Mahomet the Great Turk began now to have him in jealousy and that the whole war, was like to lie upon his own neck, without any help from the Christians, he began to frown on the English, notwithstanding Master Sherley through his good desert, soon gained the King's gracious favor again, and as evident signs thereof, obtained of the King, freedom of Conscience for all Christians throughout his Dominions: allowing also his house to be the only harbour and receipt for all poor Christians that travel into those parts."¹

With respect to the charge here made against Sir Anthony, of neglecting the business of his Embassy, or at least omitting to communicate with the Sovereign who employed him, it might be sufficient to suggest that his dispatches were probably intercepted, for from the tenor of his letters to his friends in England, in which he mentions his desire "to give the king that sent him satisfaction," and his habit of "instructing his brother how he should carry himself,"² we have reason to suppose that he kept up a correspondence with Persia; all doubt, however, on the subject is removed by

¹ Cartwright or the Preacher's Travels, p. 70.

² See his letter to the Countess of Cumberland, p. 38.

the following extract from a letter from Lello, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, to Sir Robert Cecil, under date of May 7, 1603.

—"Here inclosed I send your honor the copies of certain letters of Sir Anthony Sherley's to his brother in Persia which *I intercepted*, whereby it seemeth, as no doubt your honor doth well understand, he is for the King of Spain, with whom, I think his credit, is not very great; and for his brother, as far as I understand, he is but a Customer or Overseer of the King's Customs in Persia."³

That some of the letters of Robert Sherley written in Persia, were also intercepted by the English Government is proved by two of them having found their way into the State Paper Office. These letters are of most interesting character, and prove that the position of Robert in Persia, was by no means so favourable as his brother represented it to be; we must therefore receive with caution the account given in Nixon's pamphlet, "of Master Robert Sherley's employment in the Warres of the Persian against the Turke," and of the military honors with which he is said to have been invested; his employment indeed, according to the preceding note, appears to have been in a civil, rather than a military capacity, though his instrumentality in inciting Shah Abbas against the Turks, is particularly mentioned by Cartwright, and his influence in improving the discipline of the Persian troops, and even teaching them the use of Artillery, appears on the authority of Purchas, to be facts which cannot be disputed.

"Al Ill^{mo} Sig^r Don Antonio Sherley Comissario generale dal Re de Persia a tutti i potentati Christiani et mo fratello Charisiss^{mo}"

"Deere brother,

"I am soe besids my self wth the travailes and wants I am in, and the little hope I have of yo^r retorne or of anie man from yow, that I am almost distracted from the thought of anie helpe for my deliũy out of this Cõntrey, I doe not altogether blame yow because I knowe yow have likwyse suffered discomodytie in those parts yow live in, though they cannot be compared unto myne, consythering I live amongst turkes, infidells, and enymies to the Christian name, And althoughe in the tyme of yo^r beinge heare, we being the firste that eu^r pffered service to this kinge, having neũ bene psented unto him the like opportunitie to recoũ his auncient lost territories, and therefore he intrapped us wth deceit & flatterie, his intention being onlie to serve his owne torne, for beleve me in all his actions, he publisheth to the world the hatred he bears to the

³ S. P. O. Turkey.

name of Christians, for ēvy daie he maketh slaves of the poore Armenyans, w^{ch} are daile brought like Sheepe into eūy m̄kett, burnyng and pulling downe all Churches to the great infamie of all the Christians that live heare, w^{ch} doth shewe great dispitfullnes, for although the turke is a great ēnemy, yet doth he tollerate them, and let them live freely in his Contrey. As for my selfe I cannot denie, but he giveth me still the same meanes he was wont: but God knowes yt is in such a Scurvie fashion that I cannot possible meyneteine myself wth yt, and it is ēry yeare *da mal in peggio*. Deere brother I knowe yo^r spiritt could neū haue indured that w^{ch} I haue don, becawse I want the like spirite. But I haue strived by infynite patience to wyn tyme, the w^{ch} I haue obs̄ved is a lesson given from yo^r self, becawse tyme geveth leaue to ēvy action, only to me and to my afflic̄cons, neyther tyme, nor patience can amend my fortune, I would long since haue sollicited my frends in England for my deliūry, but that I knowe yow haue extolled the kings name and my usadge heare, even unto the skies, and my deerest love towards you hath eu^r ben such, that I would rather chose to die coupped up in my myseries, then make a contrarie report, for although I knowe the trouble I lefte my father in, and yt maie be he is not yet acquitted, never the les, I knowe he would be moved wth compassion towards me, insomuch that heatherto, I haue neū ben much chargeable unto him; the next yeare God willing I am resolved to take my license, as I have already written unto yow, by dīv waies, and yf pchance I be inforced to seeke my passadge from hence by some meanes, that happilie wilbe unliking unto yow at the first apparañce, yet I knowe I doe yt to avoyd an evidente danger, w^{ch} I will manifest unto yow hereafter more at large, deere brother love me eū, becawse yow (have?) the possession of my best & whole affec̄con. from Tauris⁴ the 22nd of Maie 160[5]

“The affectionat brother I am and eu^r bounde to be

“RO SHERLEY.”

“This king hath wintered heare in Tawris, and Cigall in Yon,⁵ & now there is greate pparac̄ons of both parties, of this side there will c̄tenly be an hundred thousand fighting men, and yf God give them victorie we shall approch neere to Aleppo. Aman-guin Chan hath plaid his pte gallantlie this yeare, lying all this winter in Narciruan,⁶ wth two thowsand horse & is growen to great reputac̄on, both wth his owne prince & in the enemyes Campe, for eūry daie he sendeth both heads & Christians, & non of greater name then he, and I knowe yow wilbe glad of yt consythering he was the first frend we had in Persia.

“We haue newes of ten flemishe shipps w^{ch} laie before Goa, & put the Portugales in a mightie feare, insomuch that the Archbishopp impawnd and sold all he had to make

⁴ Tauris, i. e. Tabreez, the capital of the Province of Aderbijan.

⁵ Yon, (Van?) a Turkish city on the lake of that name.

⁶ Narciruan, i. e. Erzeroum, the capital of Armenia.

an Armatto against them, w^{ch} being readie to goe forth, the fleēmings went theare waies & they rest in such a feare, consythering there weaknes in all pts: that they sent a fryer by the waie of Turkey w^{ch} was once wth this Kinge upon an Ambassade from the [Archbishop] of Goa, and goes now to signifie unto the king of Spaine, that except he send an Armie into the Indies to beate out the fleēmings, and to strengthen there garrisons, they must of force leave yt. Thus yow maie see in what a desperate case they are, and this yow maie assure to be most trewe, insomuch that I sawe yt written from the Archbishopp of Goa wth his owne hand.”⁷

“Al Ill^{mo} Sig^e: Don Antonio Sherleo Chaualliero Inglesi, e mie fratele Carissime.

“Moste deere brother

“As I haue continewally aduertised you of al sutch accorrants, as may eather geiue lyfe or slacknes, to the performance of that worke w^{ch} wee wth al our industry and myght labored to bringe to som perfection, so I restt mightly confused, insomuche as I can have no tru aduise from you; and although the long tyme of our partings, and distance of place hathe happily wthdrawne your wonted affaction from me; yett my thinckes the conscience you owe to honnor shoulde bynde you to geiue satisfaction to that kinge, whoe so confydently (has cre) deditt you wth his secretestt purposes;

“Your often promisinge to send presents, artiffisers, and Sig^r: Angele,⁸ and I knowe not howe many els, hathe made me be estimed a common lyar; brother for Gods sake, eather performe, or not promis any thinge, becaus in this fassion you make me discreditt myselfe, by reportinge things w^{ch} you care not to effecte;

“You shal receue heare inclosed a letter from his maiesty, the w^{ch} I thought good to copy out, and send them by 3 conuaenses, hopinge that on of them unfaynedly will cum to your hands, and becaus haply in thos places you live in, you shal fynde fewe, or none at al to translat them unto you, I will breefly declare unto you the sercomstance of it; to witt his Maiesty wrightes unto you howe he hathe taken the (country) of Cidergam,⁹ w^{ch} is to say, Tauris,¹⁰ Marrantt,¹¹ Tassu;¹² La (rdovar),¹³ Hoxsiuan.¹⁴ Erriuan;¹⁵ and Tandgia;¹⁶ al thes are great prouences,¹⁷ he wryghtes more ouer, that it is seuen yeares since he sentt you into cristendum, he knowes not wheare (you) are, nor what you have dun in his seruic, nor the reason why you retorne not unto him; the Kinge is nowe before a fort called Aggi Calla; and meanes to weenter in Skerruan;¹⁸

⁷ S. P. O. Turkey. Copy of the time endorsed “a letter from Mr. Rob. Sherley to S^r Anthony his Brother sent frō Tauris in Persia.” “22 May 1605.”

⁸ Sig^r Angele, The Interpreter and Guide who accompanied S^r Anthony Sherley, in 1598.

⁹ Cidergam, now Aderbijan.

¹⁰ Tauris, now Tabreez.

¹¹ Marrantt, now Marand.

¹² Tassu, now Tasouj, or Tzanlu.

¹³ Lardovar? Ardovar?

¹⁴ Hoxsiuan, now Nukshavan.

¹⁵ Erriuan, now Erivân.

¹⁶ Tandgia. Teflis?

¹⁷ Robert Sherley, on the authority of Purchas, attended the Persian monarch in this campaign, and received three wounds.

¹⁸ Skerruan. Shirwan.

he hathe sentt to b(ur)ne the Contry of Voyne;¹⁹ and Arzzarrun;²⁰ this yeare he(th)erto ther is no genneral of the Turcks cum for thes parts; this yeere I have stayed in Persia uppon the hope of An(thony's?) comminge, and (fear th)ate I have ben deseued () heatherto, I tho(ught n)ow you had lefte of desembling compliments; ther is no more frindshippe, nor brother(hood?) truthe, honnor, and conscience, beinge bannisht from the earthe; deere brother pardon me if I be plane wth you, the loosars haue free lyberty to speake what they leestt, by w^{ch} I am autorrised, hauinge lostt my tyme, and am in hazzarde to loose my selfe also; brother I leue (off) to wright; but neuer to loue you as myn owne soule;

“by your ever affectionatt brother.

“Ro: SHERLEY.”²¹

“from Casuin this 10 of September. Anno Domini 1606.”

It is much to be regretted that these curious letters are all which have been preserved of the many doubtless written by Robert Sherley at this period; it must be confessed that while they attest the amiable disposition of the writer, they do not add to his brother Sir Anthony's laurels, that his letters were intercepted we have already shown; but there can be no doubt that the knight had undertaken more than he was able to perform, and had made a more favourable report of his brother's employment at the Persian Court, than the circumstances warranted him to do. That Robert Sherley had attained a competent knowledge of the Persian language is also apparent from the second letter; His patience, it was many years afterwards stated by Herbert, was better than his intellect, he was not much acquainted with the Muses, but what he wanted in philosophy, he supplied in languages.

The period of Robert Sherley's marriage is not exactly known; that event must however have taken place previous to 1607, as it is recorded in Nixon's pamphlet printed in that year, though not without considerable exaggerations and inventions. The lady was Teresia, the daughter of Ismael Khan, a Circassian of noble birth, and Christian faith. She was, on the authority of her husband, related to one of the Circassian wives of King Abbas, and is honourably mentioned by Herbert as “the thrice worthy and undaunted Lady Teresia;” according to Nixon, two children were the issue of this marriage, born in Persia, to one of whom the King stood godfather; the same veracious author informs us, that Shah Abbas was half inclined

¹⁹ Voyne. Van.

²⁰ Arzzarrun. Erzerroom.

²¹ S. P. O. orig. Persia. Sealed with two Persian seals.

by Sherley's arguments to embrace the Christian faith, "To strengthen which hope," he adds, "Robert Sherley hath also erected there a church, called after his own name, in which he hath divine service as duely read, as here it is on this side the seas." These assertions, perhaps it is hardly necessary to add, are entirely without foundation, "and more fit," as Cartwright writes in 1611, "for a stage for the common people to wonder at, than for any man's private studies."²²

Although King Abbas appears to have derived little, if any, advantage from his numerous Embassies to the European powers, (for besides the first undertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley in 1599,) he had sent in the year 1605, three native Ambassadors to the Emperor and French King, with the hope of inciting them to undertake a crusade against the Turks,) ²³ he determined in 1607-8, to dispatch Robert Sherley as his Representative for the same purpose; the reasons of his choice are expressed in the letter which his Persian Majesty wrote on this occasion to King James, of which the following, translated at the period, is a copy.

"The Kingdomes are of God.

"Moste high name; whose kingdomes are many, both auntient and famous, and for vertue and worthines the mirro^r of Christianity, whose fforces may be compared to the starres in nomber, whose crowne resembles the brightnes of the sunne, wee wish yo^u all prosperous happines worthie of yo^r glorious and Royall state, since yo^w are soe deere to the Christian co^monwealth, lyke a liberall and mercifull Prince, moste mighty kinge of England et^c.

"Leavinge asyde yo^r greatnes, wee give yo^r Ma^{tie} to understande, That as wee are kings and equalls, soe o^r freindshipps ought to be unyted as one, and lyke unto the glorious and lightsome moone, wee make yt known unto yo^u, That in theise preesent tymes there came to us certaine religious men, sent from some of the great Christian Potentates for the stronger confirmation of o^r freindshippe and brotherhoode, whoe arryved to us in safety, and all that they haue treated wth us, wee have hearde willingly. And wee had thought to haue sent one of o^r owne subjects to aunsweare the Christian Princes, But the Worthie gentleman Robert Shirley to us most deere and beloued, whoe is an Englishman, and hath beene many yeeres in o^r s^rvice, in whom wee have great confidence, And bycause he is both yo^{rs} and o^{rs}, Therefore wee send him

²² Cartwright, Travels, p. 77. Malcolm, vol. i. p. 559, misunderstands this passage, and quotes it as an authority for the fact of Abbas having stood godfather to the firstborn of the English knight.

²³ Cartwright or the Preacher's Travels, p. 70.

to yo^r Ma^{tie} and to all the Christian Princes, bycause he understandes o^r state, kingdome, and what we desire. The ffathers treated with us in the Christian Princes behalves, that the Turcke ought to be assaulted by dyv^s wayes, to the end he might be wholly ruynated, wee of this syde and they of the other, And for us we have not fayled in what might appertaine to us, And now we are likewyse readye wth a potent army; That way w^{ch} might be of more piudice to assault him on that syde, wee haue untill now referred to their best deliberaçons, But now we have written to them that they come by twoe wayes, w^{ch} is to say, by Aleppo and elsewhere as they shall haue best comodity, and wee will goe uppon Diarbecca and Natolia; Thus we determyne (by God's help) to ruyne hym, and to blott out his name, soe shall the Christians and o^r Confynes be unyted, and as Neighbo^{rs} growe stronge in freindshippe.

"As for Robert Sherley, our present Embassado^r, he hath served us many yeares wth great loyaltie, And for testimony of the satisfacçon wee haue of his pson wee give him this confidence and credytt, praying yo^r Ma^{tie} that yow wilbe pleased to doe what-soeu^r he shall propound unto yo^w, What can wee saie more for his greater aucthority? yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe moreover pleased to hono^r and favour him for o^r namesake, and as he is worthie; And wee desire that betwixt us might passe confident and faithfull myniste^{rs} to confirme and establishe our freindships and to give Newes one to another of our healthes and other occurrence; And if there bee anie thinge in o^r kingdome, that may be any waye serviceable to yo^w, Comaunde it frelie, that wee may knowe in what wee may serve yo^r Ma^{tie} What can be more said then wee have alreadie wrytten? ffrom our Royall Courte in the Moneth of Rammizan, in the yeare of o^r greate prophett Mahomett a Thousande and neeneteene. [A. D. 1607.]

"Kinge Abbas the servaunte of the king of kings." ²⁴

King Abbas at the same time also granted a commendatory letter to Lord Salisbury, in favour of Captain Thomas Powel, who had accompanied Sir Anthony Sherley to Persia in 1598, and remained there ever since in attendance upon his brother, with whom he was now returning into Europe. "He understands" writes his Majesty, "much of our state and forces, and hath been in the Company of the worthy gentleman Robert Sherley, in all the actions, seiges, & battels that we have had against the Turk, and hath done us in those wars great service." ²⁵ Sherley's departure from Persia on the 12th of February, 1607-8, is ascertained by a notice in a dispatch from Sir Thomas Glover, who had succeeded Lello as Ambassador at Con-

²⁴ S. P. O. Royal Letters, 1st series, vol. xxx. p. 171. Endorsed, "The Kynge of Persia's letters to his Ma^{ty} in English. presented at Hampton Court y^e 1st of Oct: 1611. by M^r Robert Sherly, Amb^r from that kynge to his Ma^{ty}."

²⁵ S. P. O. Royal Letters, 1st series, vol. xxx. pp. 170. 172.

stantinople; to Lord Salisbury, it is added, that "he was well accompanied and furnished," and "was gone by the way of Muscovia."²⁶ He first went into Poland, and was honourably entertained at Cracow by Sigismund the Third, as we learn from a rare tract published in London in 1609, and which professes to give an account of his entertainment there; it is dedicated "To the worthie and well experienst Gentleman Sir Thomas Sherley, Sonne to that happy Father, Sir Thomas Sherley, and Brother to that Noble Gentleman Sir Robert." The author was one Thomas Midleton, but he gives us very little useful information, the Tract consisting for the most part of translations from the eulogistic speeches and verses of the Polish scholars on the Ambassador's name and negotiations. One fact however he mentions, after describing the Persian dress, in which the whole party appear to have travelled, and which it is known Robert Sherley generally adhered to, he says, "attired in some of which ordinary Persian habits, his (Sherley's) Agent Master Moore is lately arrived in England, bringing happy tidings of this famous English-Persian, as also of his coming to England, to the exceeding joy of his native Country."²⁷ How long the Ambassador remained in Poland is uncertain, in June however, 1609, we find him at Prague, where he was received with great distinction by the Emperor Rudolph II. who, according to Purchas,²⁸ knighted him on the 2d of June in that year, and moreover created him a Count Palatine of the Empire, he honoured him also with a Latin letter to King James, in which he speaks most favourably of Sherley's conduct towards Christians in Persia, and therefore hopes that he will experience his Majesties favour, the letter is dated from Prague, the 16th of June, 1609.²⁹ About this time, Sir Robert, as we must now call him, wrote to Lord Salisbury, requesting to know His Majesties pleasure as to his repairing into England on the subject of his mission. A gracious answer was returned, "that he should be welcome at any time, but for certain respects," was recommended to perform his Embassy to the other Christian Princes first; he seems soon afterwards accordingly to have taken his departure

²⁶ S. P. O. Turkey. July 2, 1608.

²⁷ We may gather from letters which may more properly be noticed hereafter, that the Lady Teresia Sherley accompanied her husband from Persia, and remained in Poland, while he performed his Embassy in Germany and Italy, it was not till the year 1610-11, that she rejoined him in Spain.

²⁸ Vol. iii. page 1807.

²⁹ See Appendix D.

from Germany, and proceeded into Italy, we must suppose that he first went to Florence, as we are told that on the occasion of his public entry into Rome he wore a large chain of gold, of the value of 800 crowns, presented to him by the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Sir Robert Sherley arrived at Rome on Sunday the 27th of September 1609, he was attended by a suit of eighteen persons, of whom eight were Persians, dressed as he was himself, in the habit of that country, his own turban being surmounted by a crucifix of gold, to show his Christian faith. The following Monday he made his more solemn and public entry by the "*Porto del Popolo*," and was met by a noble Cavalcade of Gentlemen and Swiss Guards, riding between Signor Mark Anthony Vittorii nephew of the Pope, and the Marchese Lanti. On Tuesday, the 29th,³⁰ he was publicly received by the Pope Paul V. in "the Hall of the Signatures," in the presence of twelve Cardinals; the Ambassador on this occasion is said to have removed his turban from his head and to have kissed the foot of His Holiness; a speech on the desired union of Christian sovereigns against the Turks, and the presentation of letters from the King of Persia and the Emperor, followed; after a satisfactory conversation with the Pope, and the reception of the Apostolical blessing he retired; the next day was devoted to sight seeing, and the next to the complimentary visits of the other Ambassadors in Rome; on the following day he was received by the brothers of the Sovereign Pontiff, and had another audience of His Holiness, and on this occasion is stated to have been presented with certain blessed medals and pictures, similar to those which the Spanish Ambassador had: our authority, an Italian tract of the period,³¹ omits however to tell us of certain other gifts and privileges which Sir Robert received from the Pope, and which Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter written some years

³⁰ The dates are ascertained on the authority of a very rare print of Sir Robert, dressed in a cloak, and holding a paper in his hand, his turban is surmounted with a crucifix; around the oval is inscribed

"ROBERTVS SHERLEY ANGLVS COMES CÆSARE⁹ EQVES AVRAT⁹."

In the same print, under a representation of Sir Robert's presentation to the Pope, is written, "die 29 Septembris;" and below,

"Magni Sophi Persarū Regis Legatus ad SSmū D. N. Paulū P. P. V. ceteros q Principes Christianos. Ingress⁹ Roman solenni pompa die 28 Septemb. 1609, ætatis sue 28."

³¹ Printed at Bologna in 1609.

afterwards to Sir Thomas Roe thus describes—"Being not able to get one penny out of the Pope's Purse, he desired certain faculties, Indulgences, Medals, and Agnus-Dei, to be bestowed upon him, these he obtained, and among them one was, that he had a power to legitimate Bastards."³² The latter extraordinary prerogative is mentioned also by Purchas, who adds, "the children of great Princes, Earls and Barons, only excepted," and "that many thousands at Goa were suitors to him." According to Purchas also, the title of Count of the sacred Palace of Lateran, and the office of Chamberlain were further marks of the favour of Pope Paul V. granted to Sir Robert Sherley.³³

After having been feasted by the Fathers of the English College, where his brother had been so often entertained, and gratified with presents from Cardinal Borghese, of considerable value, the Ambassador left Rome,³⁴ and went in the first instance to Milan; here, he is said to have visited the son of the King of Morocco, and here also it is highly probable he met with Sir Anthony Sherley; from Milan he proceeded to Genoa, and thence embarked for Spain; but before we follow him there, it will be necessary to return to the adventures of his brother just mentioned, whom we left newly arrived at Lisbon from Africa in the autumn of 1606.

Sir Anthony Sherley's object in visiting Portugal, instead of at once returning to Germany, to give an account to the Emperor of his Embassy to the King of Morocco, appears to have been for the purpose of being repaid the money which he had advanced for the liberation of the Portuguese gentlemen, whom he had redeemed from slavery; not being able however to obtain satisfaction from these unworthy objects of his bounty, who now dishonourably denied the promises which they had made in captivity, he proceeded to Madrid, there to bring his complaint before the King of Spain, the result of his application does not appear, but if we may judge from the importance which Sir Anthony so quickly attained at the Court of Philip III. the reigning Spanish monarch, it was probably in his favour; the following is the first notice in point of date, which the State Paper Office has preserved, of his employment at Madrid.

³² S. P. O. Turkey. Jan. 20, 1616.

³³ Purchas, vol. iii. page 1806.

³⁴ One of his Persian attendants was left in Rome, according to the Tract before referred to, for the purpose of instruction in the principles of the Christian faith.

"Sir Anthony Sherley is here in great reputation, and credit, made general of the Mediterranean Seas, one of the Council of State & war in Naples, and to receive the Habit of S^t Jago, with an *Incomenda*, and yet expecteth many more gifts and honors." ³⁵

The Commission which he at this time accepted from the King of Spain, bore date at Madrid, March 20, 1606[7], the effect of it, as we learn from a Paper in the State Paper Office, was as follows.

"That for as much as the King is resolved to disturb the trade of the Hollanders in the Levant Seas, & withal to infest the common enemies of Christendom the Turks & Moors, he hath to that end made choice of Don Anthonio Sherley, as a man experienced in marine services &c. to be general of all his Comands; all his Viceroyes, & all his Ministers of Justice to acknowledge him, to give him free entry into all his Majesties Towns & Ports, to aid him in levying of men, victualling of ships &c.

"In the Commission he is commanded expressly, not to suffer any kind of munition or victualls to be carried into the contries of Turk or Moor;

"Not to commit any hostility against the English or Venetians &c.

"He hath power to employ all his forces both by sea and land, at his own discretion (within those seas) to the damage of the Hollanders, Turks, or Moors;

"Concluding with a stringent comandment that neither himself nor any that shall serve in his Armado, give any scandal to the Catholick Religion, on pain of such punishment as shall be thought fit by the Court of Inquisition." ³⁶

Sir Charles Cornwallis was at this period the British Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, and from his dispatches we derive several anecdotes both of Sir Anthony and his companions, the following, it must be confessed, is not much to the credit of either.

—"Sir Edwin Rich, having been here a suitor for a pension in Naples, the Council of Estate upon his first memorial assented to give him 60 crowns a month, that sum he thought too little, and exhibited a second, wherupon they abated him to 50, greived with that answer, he preferred a third, containing much amplification of his birth and Estate, whereunto for a last, (without grant of any crowns) he received their resolution in these words. *No parece hidalgo, quien gasta Su hazienda en Caminos malos.* The like (no question), would have been made to S^r Anthony Sherley, if he had passed the way the other did, but his busines was caried over these hills by the breath of the Jesuits, yet doth he at this instant stick fast for want of sails to remove his bark out of this port, he offereth to sell some of his grants, at a very reasonable rate, but cannot

³⁵ S. P. O. Spain. Madrid, March 14, 1607. M^r Offeley to M^r R. Cocks at Bayon.

³⁶ S. P. O. Spain. March 20, 1606-7.

arrive as I hear to the half of what he requireth; this moveth him to a fast in the College of the Jesuits; and his attendants as I hear, to the like at home, not having yesternight a sixpence to pay for their suppers.”³⁸

The extravagant habits of expense and consequent distress which characterized the whole life of Sir Anthony Sherley, are commented upon in other letters from Spain at this period; among them the following from the Secretary of Sir Charles Cornwallis deserves notice, as it gives us the date when he first left Spain, after the sudden and unexpected elevation which he had attained in that country.

—“Sir Anthony Sherley (of whom hitherto I have been silent,) is now gone for Naples towards his charge of generalship of the Mediterranean sea, two days before his departure he came and took his leave of my Lord (with whom he had not been in all the time before since my coming hither) and of whom at that present he received some few cool words, the next day after, although he was embarged in his own house for debts which he owed, yet such way he found by the means of Creswell who is very potent in this Court, and his chief fiance and undertaker, that the day following, (being the last of May according to this computation,) he departed the Town in great bravery, notwithstanding divers great debts which he left unsatisfied; Besides his Commission he carrieth a letter from the King which is to be opened after he hath been there twenty days, the contents whereof he knoweth not, but expecteth some singular thereby; he purposeth to send Sir Edwin Rich, (who is in his company,) before to Naples and himself to go directly to Prague, there to give account to the Emperor of his Embassage into Barbary.”³⁹

From other authorities it appears that Sir Anthony came from Genoa to Naples in July 1607, where he was royally feasted and entertained by the Neapolitans;⁴⁰ in October he was at Ferrara on his way to Prague, and hence dispatched one Alexander Heiburn, “an aged Captain of Scotland but Pentioner of Spain,” to the State of Venice, desiring leave to pass through that city, a request however which was denied, or rather evaded, partly on the representation of Sir Henry Wotton, the British Representative at Venice, who had reason to suspect the loyalty of Sherley’s intentions towards his own Sovereign, more particularly from the fact of his having presented

³⁸ S. P. O. Spain. Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Earl of Salisbury, from Madrid, March 31, 1607.

³⁹ S. P. O. Spain. John Jude to Thomas Wilson, from Madrid, June 9, 1607.

⁴⁰ “Newes from Sea of two notorious Pyrats &c.” London, 1609.

the King of Spain, as Captain Heiburn affirmed, with one hundred pieces of artillery, upon his return out of Barbary, "*How he came by them,*" said he, "*I know not, but this is true by God in Heaven.*"⁴¹

Disappointed therefore, of being received at Venice, he continued his course to Prague; we have no account of his visit at the Imperial Court, but he was certainly favourably entertained, and received a mark of the Emperor's favour, by being created a Count of the Empire. "I have seen" writes Toby Mathew,⁴² "his patent of Count of the Empire, and it is the most honorable that I have seen, and yet I have seen divers."⁴³

In the spring of 1608, we find Sir Anthony again in Italy, and engaged in his official duties of Admiral of the Levant seas; a letter from Venice of the 18th of April 1608, describes him as "busied to draw from thence as many English mariners and sea masters as with money and words he can persuade."⁴⁴ The following May he was at Milan, and from thence addressed to his sister, Lady Tracy, a letter which has found its way into the Lansdown Collection, now in the British Museum, and which as a specimen of his more private and domestic correspondence, although the commencement is sufficiently obscure, is particularly interesting.

"My most honorable & most dear Sister,

"You may think it straunge, and you have reason to doe soe, that Captayne Rausone ys not returned in all this tyme unto yow; butt as in all busines, and in y^e caryadg of them, we must look to y^e Nature of y^e businis itself, to y^e nature of y^e tyme, & of those w^t whome wee negotiat: So thes points being considered, the Captayne shall have some easy excuse and I allso: yew know the matt^r in ytt self ys great: and for the honeur bothe yow and I bear to the quality and woorthines of the person, ytt must be caryed wth all the fashiō and tytles convenient: & certaynly wee will make ytt succeed: thoughe the archduke have disturbed the passadg for a whylle, those are things w^{ch} wear out of our desirers, yett wee must helpe wth good ways and a well tempered discourse owre deseyre throughe sutche accidente: and wee will find a passadg for them: yett yow will say, I shood have written—ytt is true—butt ther ar sutche inter-

⁴¹ S. P. O. Rome. S^r Henry Wotton to L^d Salisbury, from Venice, October 2, 1607.

⁴² Toby Mathew, eldest son of Dr. Toby Mathew, Archbishop of York, travelling abroad was converted to the Roman Catholic religion by means of Parsons, returned to England in 1621, and knighted in 1623, accompanied Lord Strafford to Ireland, and died among the Jesuits at Gaunt in 1655. See his Life, and Dodd's Church History. iii. 59.

⁴³ S. P. O. Florence. Toby Mathew to Mr. Dudley Carleton. July 2, 1610.

⁴⁴ S. P. O. Venice. G. Rooke "to his Bedfellow & Cosin." 18 Ap. 1608.

cepting of my poor papers that befor God I dare committ nothing to paper, & now lesse than ever; that villayne Pagliarrino who receaved so great favour frō yew att Teudingtō (Toddington), being runne frō me wth all my papers, and disclosed to my good frende the Venetian, ass mutche of the king of Spayns secrete and owne busines, w^{ch} maketh mee allso nott willing Captain Rawsone should returne: for fear of soome synister accident, for thoughe my purpose be to serve and doe honour to his M^y and his State by procuring that sutch a highe part of himself and his state shold be woorthily bestowed, yett yff the lyar saye the fox hathe horns ther yss no reply.

"I have mett hear in my passadg to Spayne whether I am going, my Lord Wentwoorthe and my cosin Crofte,⁴⁵ I assur yow wth as mutch reioycing as I could have receaved in this world, I am sorry my occasions carry mee by very extreme necessity out of Italy, they being ther, but in y^e end of October I will be returned by Gods Grace, in the mean tyme I have recommended them to y^e Count of Fuentars, whoe I doe assur you will have as great a care of them as yf they were hys own:

"Butt that I durst not extend a Commissiō in w^{ch} I have no part butt my love, I would have caryed them into Spayne wth mee, wher my cousine Croftes shoold have been honoured wth the Tytle which so many have, and I am sorry he ys wthout ytt, butt I durst not venture to persuade more than yow had givē order for, when I coom back I will intreat them to come to Naples where they shall live free of chardg and receive all honour, and learn whatsoever is fitt or necessary for a Gentlemanne to know, and my most dear sister when y^r Lord tellethe yow thatt he is able to travell, I will expect my sonne and heyr, for whō I will provyde by God's Grace such a fortune, as shall content yow and him, and so my most dear sister, I beseetch God keep you and my most honoured Lady and y^r honourable good manne in y^e happiness which I desire.

"Y^r owne

"El Conde Don ANTONIO SHERLEY.⁴⁶

"frō Millane, this 12 of May, 1608."

A letter from Lisbon dated the 12th of August, 1608, informs us, that Sir Anthony Sherley had lately arrived at the Court of Spain, and that he entered Madrid with a cavalcade of twenty horse.⁴⁷ Another letter mentions that in September he was with Sir William Stanley at Valledolid, Sir Edwin

⁴⁵ Thomas, fourth Lord Wentworth, created, 1 Charles I. Earl of Cleveland, married first, Anne, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxham in Suffolk, K^{nt}, by Mary, sister of S^r Anthony Sherley; he died in 1667, s. p. m. "My cousin Croft" was either Henry, afterwards Sir Henry, or Anthony, sons of Sir John. The "son and heir," mentioned afterwards, was probably a son of his sister, Lady Tracy.

⁴⁶ Lansdown MSS. No. 90, f. 68. orig.

⁴⁷ S. P. O. Portugal. Mr. Hugh Lee to Mr. T. Wilson. Aug. 12, 1608.

Rich being left in charge of his house at Naples until his return,⁴⁸ his conduct at this time appears to have escaped suspicion, and is thus favourably noticed by Mr. Hugh Lee, Consul at Naples.

“ Sir Anthony Sherley flourisheth at the Court of Spain, the report goeth here that the king hath given him fifteen thousand ducats towards his charge very lately, it should seem he giveth good contentment in his employment, his fortunes hitherto have exceeded the expectations of many great wits, yet holdeth his loyalty towards his Majesty, the which hath been no hindrance unto the trust committed unto him in his greatest employments, and so long as he shall so continue, I wish his good success for the honor of the nation.”⁴⁹

About this time Sir Anthony received from his brother Robert, by a letter dated in Persia the preceding January, the agreeable news of his return into Christendom in the character of Ambassador to the European Princes, requesting Sir Anthony to meet him in Poland; this letter was brought by a travelling friar; before its arrival, Sir Anthony, not knowing of his brother's having left the Persian Court, was engaged in a correspondence with his old master, Shah Abbas, on the subject of diverting the course of trade in Persian silk, from Aleppo to the Portuguese settlement of Ormus, which, if it had taken effect, would have been of great service to the trade of the Peninsular, and of corresponding injury to our Turkey merchants; this affair was brought to the notice of Lord Salisbury by Thomas Boys, an English adventurer at Ispahan, to whom Sir Anthony's letters were sent for interpretation.—“ Sir Anthony Sherley,” he writes, “ hath since my arrival written several letters unto the King, imploving messengers of purpose with many great offers withall, seeking by all means to divert the course of silk which hath been accustomed to pass by Aleppo, only to be transported by Ormus, if which had taken effect, had proved to the merchants no small hindrance, of which letters and Embassadors the king made small account, the difficulty of my letters safe arrival at this instant makes me forbear to write of any particulars; his letters being in English were sent by the king to me to enterpret, not knowing of his brother's departure, which in his last letters he persuaded his stay, for certain reasons.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ S. P. O. Spain. Mr. W. Resoulde to L^d Salisbury. Madrid, Sep. 20, 1608.

⁴⁹ S. P. O. Portugal. Mr. Hugh Lee to Mr. T. Wilson. Nov. 26, 1608.

⁵⁰ S. P. O. Persia. Thomas Boys to L^d Salisbury. June 10, 1609.

From Sir Charles Cornwallis's letters we glean several notices of Sherley and his theories, during the autumn of 1608. At one time he spoke much of a determination to return into England; at another he was busied in a scheme which he proposed of inducing certain pirates, who could muster at least ten or eleven ships, well manned and appointed, to enter the service of the King of Spain, on promise of a remission of their former offences; in short, as he said himself, "he had many larks in his net," "but for any thing I can hear," adds the Ambassador, "there are as yet none come to his hand."⁵¹

During the year 1609, Sir Anthony Sherley was mostly resident in Sicily, being in command of the Spanish fleet intended to molest the Turks, or, as it was supposed at the time, the states of Barbary. Sir Charles Cornwallis mentions in one of his dispatches, dated in January 1608-9, that he had left Madrid, taking with him "one Malines, a cunning counterfeiter of Jewels, under the shadow of the name of his steward, when all other helps shall fail, that occupation will help for a time to hold up his titles and greatness."⁵² But there were other and better founded imputations against Sir Anthony, his constant communications with Father Cresswell⁵³ and the Jesuits, naturally excited the suspicions of his countrymen; he was also accused of dishonestly obtaining possession of ships, and pressing them into the service without remunerating their owners; thus Mr. Francis Cottington, who had succeeded Cornwallis as Ambassador at Madrid, writing to Lord Salisbury, Nov. 3, 1609, says—

"I am told that Sir Anthony Sherley hath gotten seven ships and that an Englishman is coming to this Court to complain on him, for cosening him of one of them through oathes and promises; if Sir Anthony do not some good service, and that quickly, Creswell is quite spoiled, who hath kept more ado with him in this Court than ever Bank⁵⁴ did with his horse in London."⁵⁵

⁵¹ S. P. O. Spain. S^r Charles Cornwallis to L^d Salisbury. Sep^r. 30, Nov. 7, 1608.

⁵² S. P. O. Spain. S^r C. Cornwallis to L^d Salisbury. Jan^r. 21, 1608-9.

⁵³ Joseph Creswell, born in London, became a Jesuit in 1583, retired to Gaunt, where he died about 1623. See Dodd's Church History, ii. 419.

⁵⁴ Bank's Horse, a learned horse, supposed to be alluded to in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and mentioned by many authors at the beginning of the seventeenth Century, in Markham's Horseman,

It was by means of the Jesuits also that Sir Anthony kept up a correspondence with his own country, all of his letters however certainly did not reach their destination, among them the following to his father appears to have been intercepted, it is the last of his original letters preserved in the State Paper Office.

"Sr Captayne Peper will tell you in what a labarenthe of busines I ame, that I have not tyme to eat: mutche lesse to wrightt, I am going hence wth 23 ships, 7000 menne to land, & 12 peeces of cannō, & I know not where, than to tak my diractiō as yt shalbee givē mee, the turk yss att Navarino as they say intending against Malta: what the kings purpose yss I may iudg: butt bycause iudgmētes ar uncertayne, I reamitt my self to whatt shall bee; for my owne part I knowe by gods grace that I will not fayle to accōplishe whatt I ow to my quality & your honour: & yf I dy I will dye welle: you will please to pray for mee, as I doe for your longe lyf & prosperity wth all my hart:

"Your most humble sonne

"El Conde Don ANTONIO SHERLEY.⁵⁶

"fro: Palermo this 9 of Septemb^r 1609."

Notwithstanding the boasted naval preparations in the Mediterranean, and the exertions of Sir Anthony Sherley in the service of the king of Spain, the result was very unimportant, the island of *Mettalin*, now Mytilini, in the Archipelago, was indeed attacked, and some pillage taken by our hero,⁵⁷ but so little to his advantage or credit, that he was shortly afterwards deprived of his command, and it was even reported, but certainly without foundation, that he had been committed to prison in Sicily.

In the mean time Sir Robert Sherley, "with his great Turban," adds Cottington, had arrived at Barcelona, as early as the month of December, 1609; here he at first intended to remain, until he should receive leave to proceed to Madrid, however, he shortly removed to Alcala, as we are informed in the following dispatch, dated from Madrid, the 18th of January, 1609[10].

1607, is a chapter, how a horse may be taught to do tricks, "done by Bankes his curtall," whence we learn that his nag was docked. See also, Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, (vol. i. p. 212.) and Nare's Glossary under Bank's Horse.

⁵⁵ S. P. O. Spain. M^r Cottington to L^d Salisbury. Nov. 3, 1609.

⁵⁶ S. P. O. orig. Rome. Endorsed "S^r Anthony Sherley to his father."

⁵⁷ S. P. O. Spain. May 27, 1610, and Portugal, June 9, 1610.

[Mr. Francis Cottington to Lord Salisbury.]

"Our Persian Ambassador is extremely discontented they have hitherto let him remain on his own charge at Alcala six leagues hence, without ever so much as sending to him, his servants have now many days been soliciting in this Court, to get him a house, or at least audience with the King or Duke. The King Queen and Duke went three days since to Aranjues (a house of pleasure seven leagues hence,) whither I understand he is sent for to have his audience, if it prove true, as I think it will, in my poor judgement it will amount to a great disgrace unto him, for there is no convenient place either to lodge or entertain him, as I think he expects; out of a desire to understand the reason of this strange fashion towards my Countryman, I not long since took notice of it in a merry fashion unto the Secretary Prada, who told me that they had been so often cosened with Embassy's from those far countries, as his Majesty was resolved before he admitted him to see what record, as he termed it, he brought to make him accepted as an Ambassador, and besides, said he, we have no great opinion of his wisdom for coming with a turban upon his head, but (in earnest) concluded, that a consulta was made concerning him, and the resolution of his Majesty daily expected.

—"Mr. Thoby Mathew came from Barcelona with Mr Sherley, and is now with him, but was some few days in this Court, he hitherto in my opinion behaves himself very discreetly, and seems, his religion excepted, to have an honest heart." ⁵⁸

Sir Robert's ultimate reception at the Court of Spain, and many curious particulars concerning him, will be found detailed in the following extracts from Mr. Cottington's dispatches, written during the winter of 1609-10.

[Mr. Francis Cottington to Lord Salisbury, Jan. 20, 1609-10.]

"The Persian Ambassador went from Alcala to Aranjues (10 leagues,) on his own charge, he had audience on Tuesday last, both with the King and Queen, to the King he gave two letters, and spake much in persuading him to join with some other Princes in making an effectual war against the Turk, to all which the King answered in so few words as he remains very ill satisfied, the Queen used more words but nothing to his purpose, the next day, (Wednesday,) he had his access unto the Duke, to whom as I am advertized, in very round terms, he complained of the strange entertainment he receives here, but the Duke gave him so small satisfaction, as both began to talk very loud, what is since become of him I have not yet understood, so ill contented he is, as when by order of the King, he was desired to see those things there which strangers desire should be shewn them, he absolutely refused the courtesy." ⁵⁹

[The same to the same, Feb. 5, 1609-10.]

"Our Persian Ambassador came not to this Town (Madrid,) till Thursday last: he is lodged and defrayed by the King, he sent twice unto me and yesterday I went to see

⁵⁸ S. P. O. Spain. Jan. 18, 1609-10.

⁵⁹ S. P. O. Spain.

him, I do not perceive that he is possessed with those vanities which do so much govern his brother Anthony, he is not pleased with his entertainment here, he tells me he resolves to go from hence directly into England, and that by kind letters received from your Lordship, he hath understood his Majesty is contented that he also perform his Embassy there."⁶⁰

[The same to the same, Feb. 16, 1609-10.]

"Our Persian Ambassador is yet in this Court, neither knows he, as I am informed, any certainty of his going from hence, Creswell and he do every day meet, either in the College or in the lodging of Mr. Sherley.

—"Our King and Queen are now on their journey towards Valladolid, and so go from thence to Lerma, Mr Sherley intends to take his leave there, and so embark himself at St. Sebastians for England, and this he hopes to do with such speed, as he may keep his Easter in London, Sr John Ferne I understand resolves to attend him thither."⁶⁰

[The same to the same, March 4, 1609-10.]

"I have never seen Mr Robert Sherley but once, and that in his own lodging, but he is still here, and knows nothing of his dispatch from hence, the Venetian Ambassador merely told me that Mr Sherley durst not come at me, for fear of displeasing Creswell."⁶⁰

[The same to the same, March 21, 1609-10.]

"The Persian Ambassador is now dispatched here, they gave him in money 4000 Ducats, (and have borrowed it,) with a letter to the King of Persia, he holds his resolution to go from hence by sea into England, I have never seen his face but once, I think Sr John Ferne will not now go with him."⁶⁰

Various circumstances however combined to prevent Sir Robert Sherley's return to his native country till the summer of 1611, in the mean time he remained at Madrid, and sent into Poland for his wife; at this period Sir John Ferne, Mr. Toby Mathew, and Mr. Gage are mentioned as constant guests at his table; his intimacy is also noticed with a son of the famous Earl of Tirone, at that time a refugee at the Court of Spain. In August, 1610, the Spanish Government, influenced perhaps by the arrival of a native Ambassador from Persia with a present to the King, "in silk and stones," of great value, appear seriously to have entertained the mercantile projects broached by Sir Robert Sherley. In October it was generally reported that he would return to the East by sea from Lisbon; a final answer, however,

⁶⁰ S. P. O. Spain.

to his propositions being delayed for several months, Sir Robert became impatient, and finally determined to propose to "his natural Sovereign" the advantages of Persian trade which had been so coolly received by the Spaniards; a dispatch from Mr. Cottington to Lord Salisbury, dated January 5, 1610-11, informs us at considerable length of the particulars of this transaction. Sir Robert was apprehensive that "his Majesty would not hold it fit to give him that kind of entertainment (being born his subject,) which from other princes he had received, and peradventure was fitting the person he represented, yet were he not attended with Persians, (whose relations at home might peradventure breed him no small disgrace,) he would expect no more ceremony than was due unto the person of Robert Sherley." He proceeded to say, that he feared the Court of Spain would not allow him to go to England, and desired to know whether his Majesty would resent his detention? The effect of his propositions were very favourable to the interests of Great Britain; he offered the absolute use of two ports for the East Indian traders, the English Consuls to be at the appointment of his Majesty, and the Government to be carried on under the directions of the East Indian Company. Mr. Cottington showed his discretion by abstaining from any answer to Sir Robert's overtures, and asked "Why has not Spain accepted these apparently profitable propositions?" "because," said he, and here we are using his own words, as preserved by Cottington, "I do require that this King do make Invasion of the Turk, and that the Imposition of 23 per 100, be taken off at Lisbon, so that Portugese Commodities be sold at easier rate; but in England I will only propound the settling of a trade, and because you shall understand why the Persian shall be contented with that trade only, it is because by it will be diverted that great course of traffick to Constantinople and Aleppo, to the great loss of his enemy the Turk."⁶¹

Mr. Cottington concludes his dispatch by cordially recommending the scheme, and adds—

"Mr. Sherley hath here gotten very great reputation, through his wise and discreet carriage, he is judged both modest and moreover brave in his speech diet and expenses, and in my poor opinion to those vices which in Sir Anthony do so abound, in this man may be found the contraries."

Sir Robert, awaiting probably the reply of the English Government to

⁶¹ S. P. O. Spain.

About the middle of March, 1610-11, the Lady Teresia Sherley joined her husband; she had landed in February at Lisbon from Hamburgh, her lodging was appointed by order of the King of Spain in the Monastery of English Nuns, but through some misunderstanding with the Collator of the Pope, she was not received there, and while she remained at Lisbon, resided "in a very fair house which she hired by order of Sir Robert."⁶³

—“Some six days past Mr. Robert Sherley sent somewhat hastily and earnestly for me, and coming to him he seemed much perplexed, and troubled and in such sort as he was hardly able to speak to me, at length said these words, Oh Mr. Cottington, I am betrayed where I am most trusted, whereupon desiring him to explain himself, he gave me a letter out of his bosom, directed unto his brother Anthony, willing me to open it, which I did, and found it was from Secretary Prada, (whose hand I am well acquainted withall,) and to this effect,—‘I have given an account to his Majesty of your Plot, by which the Ambassador your brother may be secured from proceeding with his intention of going into England, or unto the rebels, who commands me to give you thanks in his name, and to let you know how well he takes your endeavours, which I have thought fit to do in writing, and also to desire you to proceed in your work, assuring you that you need not fear any want of secrecy.’ This letter I read

⁶³ S. P. O. Portugal. Mr. H. Lee to Mr. T. Wilson. Lisbon. { Feb^y. 8. } 1610-11.
 { Feb^y. 24. }

twice over, and can only remember thus much of it, the Ambassador told me he lighted upon it by a great chance that very morning. Sir Anthony lies in his house and is so extreme poor, as if his brother did not relieve him, he would doubtless suffer much misery. The Ambassador fears they will find some means to poison him; myself am now of opinion that he shall hardly be able to get from hence except by stealth, he hath since desired leave to be gone, but cannot obtain it, they delay him with only entreating his patience, giving no reason at all, he desires me to help and advise him, but not having yet understood from your Lordship that his Majesty is pleased he should repair into England, I am very retired in my fashion towards him, and seem to have of these things as little feeling as in courtesy I may, the Secretarys letter he says, he will send unto your Lordship, I am of opinion that it will not be hard for him to escape from hence by stealth, (if his body be able to endure the posting,) yet hold it not fit to advise that course, except I had some order from your Lordship.”⁶⁴

Notwithstanding however the machinations of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert and his wife left Madrid the beginning of June, 1611; on the road, three days' journey from that city, they met Sir John Digby, who was on his way to replace Mr. Cottington as Ambassador at the Court of Spain.⁶⁵ They travelled by way of Bayonne in France, but the time of their arrival in England, I do not find exactly noted; in August, however, they were certainly at the paternal seat at Wiston, and a sorrowful meeting must it have been to the whole family, notwithstanding the extraordinary honours with which the youngest son returned invested, and the novel circumstance of a Persian wife. Sir Thomas Sherley the father was still living, but broken both in health and fortune; he had never been able to repay the vast debts which his former extravagance had occasioned, and having in vain attempted to recruit his exhausted patrimony by farming various Patent offices granted him by the Crown, was in the utmost extremity of distress. His eldest son, Sir Thomas Sherley the younger, was also in trouble; released as we have seen from Turkish slavery by the mediation of his Sovereign in 1605, he passed some time travelling in Italy and Germany,⁶⁶ and returned to England the latter part of the year 1606; in September, 1607, he was arrested

⁶⁴ S. P. O. Spain. ⁶⁵ S. P. O. Spain. Sir John Digby to Lord Salisbury, June 4, 1611.

⁶⁶ His remarks on the cities which he visited in his travels are preserved in a manuscript in the autograph of Sir Thomas, in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, entitled, “*Discours of the Turkes, By S^r Tho. Sherley.*” It contains, however, no biographical notices, or any thing illustrative of the history of its author.

on a charge of interfering with the Levant trade, and committed to the Tower. His imprisonment, however, was of short duration, and after answering certain queries relating to a supposed plot connected with the trade of Turkey, the particulars of which are preserved in the State Paper Office, he was discharged, but only to grapple with the still greater difficulties of poverty and distress; he was no doubt deeply involved in his father's liabilities, and at the time of his brother's arrival in England appears to have been prisoner in the King's Bench for debt.

It was under these unfortunate circumstances that Sir Robert wrote the following letter to Lord Salisbury, from Wiston, August 31, 1611.

"Right honorable,

"It may please your good Lo: my father at this presentt beinge very sicke is exceedingly trobled in his mynde about a seasure w^{ch} he feareth will shortly come upon him, and all his Tennantts in respectt of an arrerage of Rent w^{ch} he sayeth is due from him to the Kings Maisty for certayne Personadges graunted by his highnes unto him, for the collecting whereof, my father telleth me that M^r Sharpeigh the receyvor for Sussex hath order geven him amongst other things of that nature; the not performinge of payments to his Maiesty at ther due tyme, and the greate disreputattion w^{ch} nowe woulde happen unto him upon the exsiccution of this byssines dothe beyonde measure greeve, and truble my father in this tyme of his sicknes;

"My moste humble request therfore to your good Lo: is, that you will be pleased to geue order to M^r Sharpeigh to forbear exsiccutinge of this matter touchinge my father for this tyme, wherein your Lo: will geue mutche restt, and quiettnes to his perpleised mynde, and obledge me euer to doe your Lordshipe seruis, the w^{ch} I humbly beseeche may be don wth your Lo: bestt and speediest conveniency, because my father cannot remove the same out of his memory, or take any restt, or contentment for it. I cease kissinge your Lo: noble hands.

"As your Lo: devoted servant.

"ROBERT SHERLEY." ⁶⁷

"From Wiston this last of August 1611."

Nor was this appeal of Sir Robert Sherley's in vain, proceedings against the estate of his father were stayed by order of Lord Salisbury, and some short respite allowed him to arrange his affairs; ⁶⁸ in the mean time the English Representative of Persia had his first audience at Hampton Court on the 1st of October, and delivered his letters of credence, already noticed.

⁶⁷ S. P. O. original. Domestick.

⁶⁸ S. P. O. Domestick. James I.

King James gave him a gracious reception, and he was on all points entertained and respected, we are told by Stowe, as an honourable Ambassador. On the 12th of October four Merchants of the Levant Company were appointed to attend him, "as being of great experience in those parts."⁶⁹ A Privy Seal was passed also for his expenses, and the liberal sum of £4 per day allowed him for his diet, besides £60 a quarter for house rent.⁷⁰ He had several other audiences, but according to the gossip of the day, with little effect,—“Mr. Robert Sherley,” writes Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, “hath had divers audiences, but I doubt his projects are to little purpose, for the way is long and dangerous, the trade uncertain, and must quite cut off our traffick with the Turk.”⁷¹

The Levant merchants were naturally strongly opposed to Sir Robert's propositions, and he had besides to contend with some accusations against him, founded on the disappointed hopes of his former Spanish friends, who when they heard that he had been well received in England, and that King James was favourably disposed towards his mercantile projects, “were very much discontented,” writes Sir John Digby from Madrid, “seeking the most they can, to discredit and disparage both his person and commissions, not spareing to give him the name of a Cosener and of a Counterfeit, I tell them,” he adds, “that if he be so, it is not *he*, but the other Princes of Christendom that have deceived the King my master, especially the Emperor, the Pope, and this King. The Emperor having received him with great honors, and made him Count of the Empire. The Pope, besides many other favors, making him of his Chamber, and this King entertaining him with much honor, more than a year, and with the expense of at least 50,000 Crowns, and none of them seeming to make any doubt or question of the truth or authenticalness of his Commission.”⁷²

The birth of the first born and only son of Sir Robert Sherley in the autumn of 1611, was a circumstance which added to the interest with which his Embassy was regarded; the Lady Teresia, of noble Circassian lineage, was perhaps the first of her nation who had visited England; she had been married several years without issue, this fact appears to be alluded to in a

⁶⁹ S. P. O. Domestick. James I.

⁷⁰ See Appendix E.

⁷¹ S. P. O. Domestick. Nov. 13, 1611.

⁷² S. P. O. Spain. Sr J^o Digby to L^d Salisbury. Madrid, Jan. 19, 1612.

curious portrait of this remarkable person, in my possession ; the painting is on panel, and exquisitely finished, the dress ornamented with a pattern composed of suns (the emblem of Persia,) and flowers, her hair also ornamented with a chaplet of flowers, the features by no means handsome, although she has been described as a great beauty. To the right of the head is the representation of a labyrinth with the motto "*concessit gratia filium.*" The last word may be read *filium*, and applies no doubt to the birth of the little "Henry," as by the Prince of Wales, who condescended with the Queen to stand sponsors, the infant was named.

Sir Robert's letter to the Prince on this occasion is preserved in the Harleian Collection, and is as follows.

"Most renownede Prince. The great honnors and favors it hathe pleased your highnes to use towards me, hathe imbowldede me to wright thes fewe lyns, w^{ch} shal be to beseeche your highnes to Cristen a son w^{ch} God hathe given me. Your highnes in this shal make your servant happy, whos whole londginge is to doe your highnes som segnniolated servis, worthy to be esteemed in your Prinsly brestt. I have not the pen of Sissero, yett wontt I not means to sownde your highnesses worthy prayses in to the ears of forran nattions, and migtey Prinses ; and I assure myselfe, your highborne sperritt thirstes after fame, the period of greate Prinses ambissions ; and further, I will ever be your highnes' most humbele and observant servant.

"ROBERT SHERLEY." ⁷³

"London, this 4 of November, 1611."

"To the high and myghty Prince of Wales."

Sir Robert Sherley, whose knighthood, by the way, does not appear to have been generally allowed on this his first visit, although he is styled *knight*, in the public documents of the Exchequer, remained about a year and a half in England, being provided for at the public expense from the 1st of October, 1611, to the 13th of January, 1612-13. The State Paper Office preserves several of his dispatches on the business of his Embassy, they are indifferently expressed and wretchedly spelt, but contain evidence of his anxious desire to benefit his native country, although his impressions of the wealth and resources of Persia were probably exaggerated. The fol-

⁷³ Harl. MSS. 7008. 73. The original is sealed with two seals, bearing the arms of Persia, being a lion rampant, crowned, holding a sword, the sun in chief, above the shield are the initials R. S.

lowing letter to Lord Salisbury may be given as a specimen of his style, and of his general views on the subject of Persian trade.

“ Right honourable,

“ Your Lordships indisposition dothe greeue the verry souls of your seruants I beseeche God send you the healthe I desyre ; I had yesterday a verry gracious audience of his maiesty wherin I desyred my answer to that kinge that sent me, wth as mutche breuety as myght be convenientt, he answered that your Lordshipe must make the conclusion of the byssinesse, hauinge had the madginge of them heatherto, and therefore comanded me to shewe unto your Lordshipe what my dem[ands] weare for the kinge of Persia’s satisfacttion, [and] myn own retorne ; wth al his maiesty is determynd to make a combynation betwext this state and the Persian as they nowe stand, and wth the successor of eache party, to the eande that if the Spanniard at any tyme shoulde intimat any thinge this way, [his] maiesty myght be assured in the East Indies of a Potent frende, Plases for Landin on, and assistans in what soeuer may bestt aduantage sutche affars, his maiesty hath lykwys consented that I may make my retorne from [hence ?] wth a Shipe, and a Pinnis, If I can procure my frends [to] be at a part of the Chardge, hauinge promised graci[ously] to geue me assistance lykwys in that particular ; his maiesty shall reseue thes satisfacttions by the goinge of this Shippinge, to be assured of the goodnes, and sittuattion of the Persian Portts, wheather they may be aduātigable to annoi the Spanniard if neede shall require, and wheather the obiections made by the marchantts weare of mallis or truthe ; my further desyre was, that his maiesty should admitt genttilmen to aduenture in fassion of trade, and that they myght have his maiestys lettars pattentts for declarattion, to incurradge thos that are alreddy well disposed ; and others ; it lyethe nowe in your Lordships powre to geue lyfe to thes byssinesses, and to me your Lordships deuoted seruant, whoe will euer pray uppon the knees of his hartt for your Lordships healthe, and tru happines ;

“ ROBERT SHERLEY.”

“ I haue spokkene wth Mr Merricke that was agentt in Muscovia, whe geues me so litel hope of any passinge that way, that it hathe made me thincke of this other, w^{ch} I dought not but will prooue mutche bettar, and I desyre hartyly your Lordships pardon that I did not furst aquantte your Lordshipe wth this second proiectt, for the respectt of your infermyty, unwillinge to geue you any truble.”⁷⁴

“ My Lodginge this 2 Marche, 1611.”

[Addressed]—“ To the Right honnorable my uery good Lord the Earle of Saulsberry Lord high Treasurer of Inglande.”

⁷⁴ S. P. O. orig. Persia.



CHAPTER V.



AN account of Sir Robert Sherley's voyage to Persia is given both in Stowe's *Chronicles* and Purchas's *Pilgrims*, according to the former authority he embarked with his lady and retinue, at Dover in the month of January, 1612-13, leaving his son Henry in England, whom he recommended to the protection of the Queen, Captain Thomas Powel of Hertfordshire, who now received the honour of knighthood, and who had formerly accompanied Sir Anthony into Persia, returning with him. Captain Newport is mentioned as the Captain of the ship which conveyed the Ambassador and his Suite, and by Articles of Agreement drawn up in 1611, it would appear that Sir Henry Thynne was the owner of the vessel.¹ That Sir Henry certainly sailed with Sir Robert would seem from some verses addressed by John Davies of Hereford, in "The Muses' Sacrifice," printed in 1612, "To my most deare, and no lesse worthily-beloved Friend and Pupill, Henry Mainwarring Esquier, with the truely noble and venterous Knight *S^r Henry Thynne*, accompanying into Persia,

¹ In the British Museum is a note of these articles of agreement "between Sir Henry Thynne of London, Knt. and Sir Robert Sherley, Knt. Lord Ambassador from the King of Persia," whereby the said Sir Henry agreed to convey the Ambassador and his retinue, not exceeding twenty-five persons, to the Persian Gulph, in a ship and pinnace lying at Lymington, to remain in Persia eight months, whilst the Ambassador provides goods to lade the ship and pinnace, consisting of 100 tons of raw silk, cotton, yarn, Persian carpets and indigo, free from all charges and incumbrance; two parts for the use of Sir Henry Thynne and his adventurers, and the third part for the use of Sir Robert Sherley. The articles conclude with a special engagement, on the part of the Ambassador, to insure to the adventurers "an honourable reward from the King of Persia." British Museum, Charters, xxix. 70.

the meritoriously-farre-renowned Knight, S^r Robert Sherley, Englishman, yet Lord Ambassadour sent from the great Persian Potentate, to all Christian Princes, for the good of Christendome.”²

Between eight and nine months were occupied in this voyage, for Captain Newport, after vainly endeavouring to land the Ambassador in the Gulph of Persia, and narrowly escaping a treacherous attack of a revolted Persian Prince at Godel, (Guadal,) arrived in the Sinda or Indus about the month of September, 1613. Purchas gives a particular account of the dangers they escaped on the coast of Cutch, which appears to have been confounded with Guadal above referred to. The crew are said to have recovered Sir Robert and Lady Sherley’s luggage, which had been sent on shore, by the following ingenious device, they filled with stones *the four State Chamber Vases*, being, as the Captain describes, “of goodly exterior,” and landed them in a boat, as treasure, and placed them with the luggage; when on the point of departure, the Captain, who received his instructions from Nazer Begg, an attendant of Sir Robert’s, pretending to have forgotten something, ordered the sailors to take up Sir Robert and the lady’s boxes, on the plea that Lady Sherley had desired him to bring back her luggage as she required clean linen, and that it would be returned on the morrow; they thus

² “Heroicke Pupill, and most honor’d Friend,
to thee, as to my moitie, I bequeath
Halfe th’other halfe; beginning, at mine end,
to make (I hope) me triumph ouer Death.
My Sonne (sole sonne; and, all I euer had)
vnto thy Care and Seruice I commend;
So, make me Sonnesse, till you make me glad
with your Returne from this World’s further end.

The absence of so deare a Sonne as thou,
must needs affect thine honor’d Sire with Griefe;
But, for thy good, he doth his Griefe subdue:
so, doe I mine, by his, sith his is chiefe:
Then, with my Sonne, take thou my Hart and these
Celestiall Charmes, in Stormes, to calme the Seas.”

John Davies of Hereford. “The Muses Sacrifice.” 12°. Lond.
Printed by T. S. for George Norton, — 1612. fol. 171.

recovered all the Ambassador's effects safe on board, leaving the natives to investigate the contents of the vases.³

The arrival of Sir Robert in India, and his favourable reception by the "Great Mogul" is mentioned in the following letter, preserved in the records of the East India Company, dated from Surat, August 19, 1614.

Thomas Aldworth and William Biddulph "To Sir Thomas Smith K^{nt}, Governor of the worshipfull the Deputy Committees of the East India Company."

"Furthermore y^r worships shall pceive, that about Sep^r last S^r Rob^t Sherley arrived at Sinda, wthin this Kings Dominions, thinking there thence to have gone directly ffor Persia, but there being many Portingales in y^e Towne instigated y^e people thereof against him, in so much they attempted to have burnt him & all his by night in his house with Gunpowder, in w^{ch} action one or 2 of his chieftest men were slain, himself & y^e rest hardly used, w^{ch} afterwards came to y^e Kings eare, who presently sent for him up, and on y^e way all y^e rest of his men died, save only (an) Apothecarye w^{ch} we think will come to Surat, S^r Robert came to y^e Kings Court in June last, where he hath been very favourably entertained with great gifts given him p the King; who means forthwith to dispatch him on his Journey for Persia, the King having promised to do Justice on all that wronged him, having sent for them on purpose already; His ship departed p^sently on his landing towards Bantam, not knowing of any English here;—S^r Robert hath told Thomas Reridge who remaineth above in Agemere, if the English come not shortly into Persia as he hath advised, that then he will bring y^e Dutch into that trade, who as he sayeth have been very importunate on him for it, M^r Aldworth hath written him a fre, whose answer we expect shortly."⁴

Sir Robert's visit at the Mogul's Court, is also noticed by Thomas Keridge, Resident of the Company at Ajmeer, who adds, "he presented the Mogul with a striking silver clock, worth about £100 which the King highly esteems."⁵

Another agent of the Company, Mr. Nicholas Withington, writing from Agra, October 29, 1614, to Mr. Aldworth at Suratt, records the departure of Sir Robert Sherley, some five weeks since, after remaining there only ten days, "procuring necessaries for his journey, and so departed," he adds, "carrying the french man's Elephant with him and swore to me he would make him juggle for another; Jadowe presented him with a matter of 100 rupees,

³ See Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 493, and Kerr's Collection of early Voyages and Discoveries.

⁴ Records of the East India Company. No. 163.

⁵ Ibid, No. 165.

and afterwards asked money for his present, but Sir Robert's Cashier not being in the way, Jadowe entreated for his present again, which was granted him, the Jesuits came daily to his house, and there said Mass, their Church being still locked up: What passed with him in Agimeere I make no doubt but you have particularly heard, he seemeth to us no great friend to the Company, yet makes shew to do something concerning our trade in Persia, but there may doubt be made of his entertainment there, considering how barely he returneth."⁶

Sir Robert's arrival at Ispahan, "with his Wife and divers English in his Company,"⁷ was stated in a letter from that city, dated the 16th of June, 1615, addressed to Sir Paul Pyndar, the British Minister at Constantinople, it was also mentioned that Sir Robert had brought two elephants to present to the King of Persia, and that he had received great gifts from the King of Lahore, or "Great Mogul."⁸ Schah Abbas appears to have welcomed his Ambassador with a certain degree of favour, notwithstanding Mr. Withington's doubts, and he still continued, as Malcolm tells us, the channel of communication between Europeans and the Court of Persia. It is in this character that we find him regarded in a Commission granted to Richard Steele and John Crowther, for the purpose of settling a trade in Persia, by the agents of the East India Company at Amaddanas, the 2nd of January, 1614.

"When it shall please God," according to this document, "to bring you safely to Ispahan, you are to address yourselves to Sir Robert Sherley, and to deliver unto him such letters as you carry along for him, to procure by his assistance letters from the King of Persia unto all his governors captains and commanders of all the sea coasts &c." The commission concludes, "if monies fall short, then you may deliver to Sir Robert Sherley, the letter of credit, which you carry directed to him, but not otherwise."⁹

Steele was also recommended to Sir Robert by Nicholas Downton, one of the earliest Captains employed by the East India Company; the copy of his

⁶ Records of the East India Company. No. 172.

⁷ Master Thomas Coryat's Travels to the Court of the Great Mogul, mentions his meeting with Sir Robert Sherley and his lady, on the frontiers of Persia and India in 1615.

⁸ S. P. O. Turkey. Sir Paul Pynder to Lord Salisbury. Nov. 18, 1615.

⁹ Records of the East India Company. No. 225.

letter is dated from Surat, November 21, 1614, and commences thus, "Honourable Sir, When in the Peppercorn I parted from you at Saldanha,¹⁰ my poor means for so long a passage considered, I little thought from this place, ever to have written to your honor into Persia," After noticing Sir Robert's escape on the coast of the Gulph of Persia, and his long abode in the Mogul's Court, he enters upon the subjects of the Persian trade, and thus continues, "It gladdeth me to hear that my Lady Sherley hath so well overcome her sea travell, and departed Agra in health, William Hawkins died homewards, so did most of the people in that ship, he is buried in Ireland, and his wife is married to Gabriell Towerson. Mrs. Towerson did visit your son, and informed me of his health."¹¹

The above is remarkable, as almost the only notice of Sir Robert's only child, whose fate is involved in some obscurity, although he is generally believed to have died young,¹² but *when* and *where* has never been ascertained, that he was living in the month of May, 1626, appears by Sir Thomas Bishopp's will,¹³ who was the Executor of his grandmother, Lady Sherley, but no later mention has been found of him.

The archives of the East India Company have preserved several other notices of Sir Robert Sherley and his Embassy, among them the following, written originally in cipher by the Company's agent in Persia, and received in England in 1618, gives us the dates of the Ambassador's leaving Persia for the second time, and proves that his residence there could not have exceeded twelve months.

—"You may please to understand, that Sir Robert Sherley departed hence in October, one thousand six hundred & fifteen, being a second time employed to the Christian Princes, but most especially into Spain, to contract with that State, for all the silks of this Country, with instructions and grant for the Spaniards to fortify on the Persian shore, his way was by Goa, from whence he is said to have departed for Christendom in February last."

"Sir Sherley's poor reward from this King, after so many years spent for his service,

¹⁰ Saldanha Bay, near the Cape of Good Hope.

¹¹ Records of the East India Company. No. 193.

¹² According to the Harleian MSS. 4023, p. 122. b. he died young in England.

¹³ The Lady Sherley's Will was dated Feb^y. 19, 1622-3. Proved Ap. 1, 1623, and by it she left an annuity of £40 to her G^dson Henry Sherley, which her Executor S^r Thomas Bishop by his will dated May 8, and proved Feb. 14, 1626, charged on the Farm of Bedingcourt.

and return from his last Embassy, may persuade him of little better at his second return, I am told by a bosom friend of his, that he intends his abode in Christendom, if his invitation, (especially in his own Country,) could but afford him the small means of a poor gentleman.”¹⁴

Sir Robert is said to have remained at Goa a period of ten months, during which time he confirmed a peace with the Viceroy, between Persia and Spain, much to the dislike of the British Merchants, who were plotting with William Robbins, “Sir Robert Sherley’s agent at Ispahan,” for the purpose of undermining his master’s influence with the King, and breaking off the proposed trade with Spain, which Sherley had been commissioned to contract.

Sir Robert Sherley, in the character of Persian Ambassador, landed at Lisbon from Goa in the summer of 1617, “the King of Spain, desirous” says Sir John Digby, “to avoid the great charge he put them to at his last being at Madrid, gave order to the Conde de Salimas Viceroy of Portugal, for the treating with him, and dispatching of him there, for that his business belongs to that crown, but Sir Robert Sherley hath refused to treat with any, untill he shall first have received audience of this King, to whom he says, he is sent, & not to any of his Ministers or Viceroy, so that I conceive he shall speedily come up hither, for I hear they are very willing to entertain the business he is thought to bring.”¹⁵

During his abode in Lisbon he was well entertained, 500 crowns a month being given him for his diet, and at Madrid, where he shortly removed, his allowance was even more liberal, 1500 ducats a month, besides the rent of his house and a coach to attend him, being the terms in which the King’s officers compounded with him, instead of defraying all his expenses as they appear at first to have done.

In Spain the Ambassador again met his brother Anthony, after an absence of six years, which the latter had spent in that country, upon a pension of 3000 ducats per annum, allowed him by the King, the greater part of which however was appropriated to the payment of his debts, “some small portion being assigned unto him to keep him only from starving.”¹⁶ In 1611 he

¹⁴ Records of the East India Company. No. 464.

¹⁵ S. P. O. Spain. S^r J. Digby to Mr. Sec^y Lake. Oct. 29, 1617.

¹⁶ S. P. O. Turkey. Archbishop of Canterbury to S^r T. Roe. Jan. 20, 1616.

At the time of his brother's arrival at Madrid, Sir Anthony, it was said, was on the point of going and living in the Canaries, where he was to have his pension as before, while the Spanish Government, as Mr. Cottington expresses it, "shall be free of his daily begging and importunities;" this scheme however was given up, and Sir Anthony is represented in 1619 as "a very poor man, and much neglected, sometimes like to starve for want of bread" adds Mr. Cottington; and again, "The poor man comes sometimes to my house, and is as full of vanity as ever he was, making himself believe that he shall one day be a great Prince, when for the present he wants shoes to wear, the two brothers are much fallen out, and both by word and writing do all the harm they can, in defaming each other, but I must needs confess that the Ambassador is the discreeter of the two."¹⁸

“Sir Robert Sherley and his lady are within three leagues of this courte, and stay but until they have a house provided for them, w^{ch} is to be at the King’s charge, and that makes them stay soe long. This King will defray all his charges whilst he shall stay at this courte. His brother Sir Anthonie is also here, but not in such good estate as I could wish. Sir Robert came well attended, but with no Englishmen or women, having lost them all in Persia, where some of them were poysoned, and soe was he himself and his wife, and she hath not totally recovered it yet, but it fell downe into her legs, and so she passeth with it, but with much pain. She hath rather augmented then lost any of her English language, for she speaks it very well, and asks of all her acquaintance by their names. To my uncle¹⁹ and cousin Sherleys, I pray let me be

¹⁸ S. P. O. Spain. Mr. Cottington to Mr. Sec^y Naunton. Dec. 12, 1619.

¹⁹ Anthony Sherley, of Preston, Esq.

remembered, &c. so with my love and respect unto yourself, I rest yours at command,

“WALSINGHAM GRESLEY.”²⁰

Sir Robert Sherley remained at the Court of Madrid till the spring of 1622, when he departed for Rome; Sir Walter Aston, who was then the British Minister in Spain, has preserved an account of his intended progress as follows.

“Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Digby, Madrid, March 25, 1622.

—“Sir Robert Sherley who hath now been here some years with a Persian Embassage is at length dispatched and ready to be gone, but I do not understand that he hath concluded any thing of importance, he hath here been well entertained, and hath now 8000 ducats given him for the charges of his way, besides a jewel given to his wife, he intends to go from hence to Rome, from thence to the Emperor’s Court, then to Muscovia and so into Persia by the Caspian Sea, he hath made unto me many professions of his desire to do his Majesty service, and amongst other propositions, he insists much on the procuring a trade for the East Indian Company out of Persia by the Caspian Sea, and so down the river Volga, through the Moscovites Country, and tells me that he will himself write hereof unto his Majesty.”²¹

It was during this second visit to Rome, in the Pontificate of Gregory XV. that both Sir Robert and his wife were painted by Vandyke, then a young man in the service of Cardinal Bentivoglio; these portraits, whole length, and in the Persian costume, are still preserved at Petworth.²²

I have found no other notice with reference to the Ambassador, before his arrival in England in the month of January 1623-4, that event is thus mentioned in one of Mr. Chamberlain’s letters of news to Sir Dudley Carleton.

—“Sir Robert Sherley with his Persian wife is come hither again out of the clouds I think, for I cannot learn where he hath been all this while, but he requires audience in quality of an Ambassador, which I hear is granted him at Newmarket, because he lies not far off at his Sister’s the Lady Crofts,²³ which is the best retreat and means he hath here.”²⁴

Great changes had taken place in Sir Robert Sherley’s family since his

²⁰ Burrell MSS. quoted in Cartwright’s Rape of Bramber.

²¹ S. P. O. Spain.

²² Bellori, Lives of the Painters. Edit. 1672, p. 255.

²³ Little Saxham, near Bury St. Edmunds.

²⁴ S. P. O. Domestick. Jan. 17, 1623-4.

first visit to England in 1611, his father, Sir Thomas, worn out with misfortunes, the result of his own folly, and so reduced by poverty that in one of his letters to Lord Salisbury, he complains that he had not means to clothe himself or his wife, much less to pay his debts, had died in October, 1612, shortly before Sir Robert left England on his voyage to Persia. His mother subsisting on the small jointure which had been secured to her from the ruin of her husband's estate, survived till the winter of 1622-3. The family seat at Wiston, disfurnished, and probably half in ruins, had been deserted, and was shortly after this time alienated for ever from the house of its ancient lords by his eldest brother, the unfortunate Sir Thomas, on whom the debts rather than the patrimony of his father had devolved, and who in 1617 added to his own difficulties by contracting an improvident second marriage with Judith Taylor, widow, the daughter of William Bennet of London, who bore him a numerous issue, to whom reference will be made hereafter.

It is remarkable that neither the names of Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony, or Sir Robert Sherley, are found in the will of their mother; she left however an annuity of £40 per annum "To her Grandson Henry Sherley," undoubtedly the son of Sir Robert and Lady Teresia, and made a bequest "to William Nazarbegg (Nazer-beg,) the Persian boy," who had probably accompanied Sir Robert from Persia on his former embassy to England in 1611.

Sir John Finett in his curious little work, "touching the Reception, and Precedence, the Treatment and Audience, the Puntillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England," has given ample details of Sir Robert Sherley's Embassy in 1623-4; his first rest, he tells us, after his long travels, was at his sister's the Lady Croft's house at Saxham in Suffolk, and his first audience with King James, took place at Newmarket, the 27th of January; on this occasion he laid his turban, but only for a moment, at the King's feet, although he said he had kept it on always in the presence of the Emperor and the King of Spain, and presented his letters of credence written in the Persian Language, and "un-understood," adds Finett, "for want of an Interpreter, no where then to be found in England." On his former Embassy in 1611, it appears that "he wore his own Country habit, and had been allowed after some question about it to cover in the King's presence;" His conduct, however, on this occasion has not escaped censure; Vattel, in his *Rights of Ambassadors*, does not scruple to say that Shah Abbas

might, with propriety, have taken off his head when he returned to Persia, and General Briggs thinks it not improbable that his subsequent decline in the favor of the Shah, may be traced to the same circumstance.²⁴

On the 12th of February Sir Robert, accompanied by his sister Lady Crofts arrived in London, his lodgings were in Fleet Street, and there on the 15th meeting the Lord North, and some gentlemen of his kindred, repaired to St. James's, where he was admitted to the presence of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I.

An allowance of £30, and afterwards £40 per week, was granted to the Representative of Persia, who took up his residence during part of the summer of 1624 on Tower Hill, and endeavoured by every means in his power, to facilitate the business of his Embassy, with this view he wrote to the King on the 18th of May,²⁵ and also to Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, on the same subject; to the Lords of the Council he wrote also on the 16th of August,²⁵ praying for dispatch, "for if," says he, "the ships be not ready in February next, a whole year is lost." King James was at this time on his progress through the Midland counties, and it appears by Sir Robert's letter, that he intended to meet his Majesty at the ancient palace of Woodstock, on his way to Toddington, his sister the Lady Tracy's house, from whence the following letter is dated, the 24th of August, 1624.²⁶

"To the right hon^{ble} S^r Edward Conway knight principall Secretarie to his Ma^{tie}"

"Right Honourable

"Yo^r favourable L^{re} I receiued, whereby yo^r honour is willing to aduance the speedie dispatche of this weightie busines, in w^{ch} shortnesse of time is necessarilie to bee considered, I send yo^r Lo^p a coppie of what I deliued the Lords, desiring yo^r favour to shewe it his Ma^{tie} and my Lo Duke: the rather for that his excellense and yo^r hono^r are Committies in this busines. The Marchants delayed y^e Lords in hope the time would be lost, but I hope that wilbe recoüed; They haue put up billes to acquainte the world that this yeare they will send out no shipping, whether it bee to affright the State, that his Ma^y Customes shal be lessened (their shipping not imployed) or for what other intent I knowe not well; But certaine I am, the Dutch Nation (whom they so much hate for their industrie and greate trafficque) are gott into Persia,

²⁴ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. N^r xl. p. 99.

²⁵ S. P. O. Persia.

²⁶ On this day the King with his Court came to Woodstock, [see Nichols's Progresses of James I. vol. iv. p. 100L.] S^r Robert therefore appears not to have had an audience at this time.

according to their owne Newes w^{ch} is come in a Shippe w^{ch} is newlie arriued from Persia, w^{ch} trade if wee neglect and they imbrace, they shalbe the gloriest and flourishing Nation in the world, and wee the most unfortunate in losing so greate a Treasure as seeketh us. I speake as a well deuoted Naturalist to my owne Patria and should bee more then thrice happie (although wth a greate deale of daunger) to effecte this busines and rest wth my ffathers bones; for in my own pticular I demaund nothing [but that] yo^r hono^r bee pleased to hasten an end, in w^{ch} y^u will doe not only good fauoure to mee, but hono^r and pfitt to this State in imbearing a busines of this import wth so small adventure, and so greate returnes; or els that I noe longer neglect my M: busynes and my time w^{ch} is p^etious. In pformaunce of w^{ch} yo^r hono^r will euer oblige mee as yo^r faithfull servant.

“ROBART SHERLEY.”²⁷

“Todington 24 August 1624.”

Enclosed in the above, were certain propositions, endorsed, “*The Overture made to his Ma^{tie} by Count Sherley, Ambassador frō the Persian King*,” which will be found at length in the Appendix.²⁸ No satisfactory answer on the part of Government being returned, we find Sir Robert addressing Sir John Cooke, to whom his business had been referred, on the 15th of November;²⁹ his letter was written from Saxham, and was sent by Mr. Richard Steele, whose name has been mentioned before, as an agent of the East India Company in Persia. The next step “in the business of Persia,” appears to have been a consultation held at the house of Sir Thomas Smith, on the 28th of January 1624-5, “in presence of the Lord Ambassador of Persia, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir William Russell, Sir Humphrey Hanford, M^r William Borett, and Richard Steele,” on this occasion it was unanimously agreed, that no further time should be lost, but that four small vessels should be immediately chartered by the Merchants, and employed in the Persian trade; they were intended to accompany a larger ship of 450 tons, called *the Dragon*, the whole expense being computed at £10,500. It is to this period that the following communication from Sir Robert Sherley, to Sir Edward, then Lord Conway, refers, which derives its principal interest, from the curious list of his jewels and debts, as well as of goods which he had brought from Venice and purchased in England for the use of the King of Persia, and for which he desired free license of exportation.

²⁷ S. P. O. Persia. In the hand of a Secretary, but signed by Sir Robert Sherley.

²⁸ Appendix F.

²⁹ S. P. O. Persia.

"My honorable good Lo.

"Amongst the manie crosses I haue had since my beeing here in England, one comforte remaines me, that it pleased God so to directe the course of my busienesse at my first comming, as to fall in the handes of soe worthie and noble a gentleman, as yourselfe, who would not suffer me, and my bardge, tossed wth y^e tempeste of enuyouse calomnies to bee caste awaye; for w^{ch} favoure I come to give your L^{pp} moste humble thanks, yo^r Lo^p knowes that at my firste comming hether I had the honor to kisse his Ma^{ties} hands at Newemarket, who promised according to my humble requeste, that I shoulde haue nothinge at all to do wth the merchants, but should bee dispatched in all thinges immediatlie from himselfe, as being sent Amb^r from a kinge to a kinge, w^{ch} alsoe yo^r Lo can witnesse who brought me the same message, yet since nowe it hath pleased his Ma^{tie} to ordaine otherwise, and to comaund the Merchaunts to paye me some parte of that allowance it pleased his Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe me, to the end your Lo: maye see howe the same Summe is to bee bestowed for redeeming of my wyues iewels, empawnd for my necessities, I send yo^r Lo^p a liste thereof, humblie intreating yo^r Lo^p to continue me your gratiouse favoure for my speedie dispatche, in regarde of the shortenesse of y^e tyme w^{ch} doth presse me to bee importune, and this amongst manie other favours I will register in a booke of eternall thankfullness, and will euer remaine y^r Lo^{ps} moste humble and affectioned servant.

"ROBART SHERLEY."

"ffirst a chayne of fyve hundereth diamonds and a rope of threttie orientall pearls, w th one great pendant empawnd for six hundreth pounds besyde the interest monnie w ^{ch} amounteth to a hundereth and tenne pounds in all	710lb
"A rounde Stocke for a father sett thicke w th faire rubies parls and Emeraudes, and a Persian dagger lykewise iewelled empawnd w th the interest for . . .	214lb
"An Emeraud Crosse, sett w th diamants, and a border of Emerauds empawnd together w th y ^e interest for	89lb
"Two Chaines of gould, a paire of bracelets, certaine medals of goulde, and two diamant rings empawnd together w th the Interest monnie for . . .	54lb
"A greate Diamant ringe empawnd for	52lb
"A necklace of Rubies, perles, and Emerauds w th some other thinges empawnd for	40lb
"A paire Earrings of Diamants empawnd for	24lb
"A greate chaine of gould empawnd w th interest for	147lb
Summa	<u>1330lb</u>
"Dewe to M Neweporte for hir house	156lb
"Besydes M ^{rs} Neweporte is engadged for me this following.	

"To an Upholster . . .	13 lb
"To two Mercers . . .	45
"To a baiker . . .	40
"To a brewer . . .	40
"To two Vinteners . . .	90
"To a Woodmonger . . .	30
"To a Collier . . .	30
"More she hath layd out in household necessities . . .	17 lb

Summa 569 lb

"I owe for Gould lace . . .	80 lb
"To a Taylore . . .	16
"To a Poticarie . . .	8
"To a Shoemaker . . .	14

Summa 118 lb

"Besydes all the aforesaid, I brought w th me in readie monnie fourteene hundredrethe poundes, of which I can produce good witness; I have received of his Ma ^{ties} bountie . . .	1040 lb
--	---------

"There is yet due to me as maye appeare in his Ma ^{ties} Exchequer . . .	3360 lb
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"And my long stay heere as yo^r Lōp knowes hath not beene myne owne worke, for both myself and my friendes have laboured without cease for my dispatche.

"ROBART SHERLEY." ³⁰

"The pticulars of such goods as y^e Persian Ambassador brought from Venice for the King of Persia his M^s propper use.

"10 Casses of Cloth of gold sattines and other silke stuffs,

"10 Chests of drinking glasses and the like in Cristall

"23 Chests of Collered paine glasses to adorne a Roome

"43 Chests of other Vennice glasse ware

"3 Boxes or Casses of quick siluer

"1 Case wth 10 Barrells for gunnes

"3 Scrittories or boxes wth divers rareties in them sent to y^e King of Persia from the States of Vennice for a present.

"3 Sappets or trunks of there wearing cloths.

³⁰ S. P. O. Persia. Endorsed "S^r Robert Sherley to my Lo: Conway, sending a note of his Jewells and debts oweing."

"Pls of such things as hee bought in England for the King's propper use.

"38 Bales containeing 150 Broade Clothes

"4 Casses of Vermelion

"1 smaule Case wth knives and other smaule toyes

"1 Case wth 26 gunn barrells

"50 Sword blades and 40 pike heads

"There provision for sea w^{ch} is in 4 Chests w^h Rice bisquetts cheese and the like.

"His request is for a bill of store for the aboues^d things that they may not bee in dishonor of his King and M^r bee stayd'd or questioned at the Custom Howse."³¹

The decease, however, of King James I. who died on the 27th of March, 1625, prevented the completion of the arrangements for the return of the Ambassador into Persia, who on the 13th of April was honoured with a private audience of the new Sovereign at Whitehall, and who, notwithstanding his earnest petitions, "that a present resolution might be taken for his dispatch," was delayed for many months in England. A letter to the Lords of the Council from Sir Robert Sherley, dated "*this 25 of November, [1625.] from my hous at Lymus,*" by which is intended Limehouse near the Tower, requests that the East India Company should definitely arrange the precise spot of his landing on the coast of Persia, and in the event of their refusing, desires leave to treat with his private friends and countrymen for his transportation,"³¹ an unexpected event, however, which took place about the middle of February following, gave a new colour to these transactions, and was the occasion of further delay and disappointment. This was the arrival of Najdi Beg [Nukud Aly Beg], a Persian nobleman who had been appointed through intrigues of the East India Company, Ambassador from Shah Abbas, evidently for the purpose of disgracing the long tried and faithful representative of the King of Persia. The Company made great interest to obtain especial honour to be done to this native Ambassador, he was not however admitted to an audience of King Charles till the 6th of March 1625-6, the reason of this delay was the Persian's own outrageous conduct, who at a private visit with which Sir Robert Sherley honoured him, had grossly insulted and assaulted him, pretending that Sir Robert's credentials were forgeries, and that he had not been employed by the Shah of Persia; the

³¹ S. P. O. Persia.

whole scene is graphically described in Sir John Finett's "observations;" After the Lords of the Council had in vain endeavoured to reconcile these rival representatives, it was finally arranged that they should both be sent back to Persia, there to settle their differences in the Court of the Shah. An English Ambassador, in the person of Sir Dormer or Dodmore Cotton, was appointed to accompany them; it was at one time intended that they should proceed by way of Russia; and there still remains among the Royal letters in the State Paper Office, the draught of a letter from King Charles to the Emperor of Russia, recommending both Cotton and Sherley to the protection and favour of the Czar. Finett states that they were accidentally too late for the East India fleet, which sailed from the Downs in May, 1626,³² and were in consequence detained till March, 1627, when they finally departed; the two Persian Ambassadors in different ships. This last arrangement was in accordance with the wishes of the affectionate wife of Sir Robert Sherley, as appears by the following petition.

"To the right honorable the Lords of his Ma^{ties} most honorable Prevy Councell.

"The humble Petition of the Lady Teresia Sherly.

"The Brutish disgrace done unto Counte Sherlye Ambassider from the Kinge of Pertia; unto this State, my Lord & husband, by the hand of that Barbarous Heathen, who stileth himself Ambassodo^r, likewise from that Kinge, beinge duely considered, & that they are both to embarque in one fleet of shippes nowe goeing for Pertia; with the confusion that may happen in the voiage; amongst the whole company unlesse provision be used, your honno^{rs} will I hope heare & pdon it, yf the feares of a woman cause her to trouble yo^r Lopps with this humble Petition.

"That a Mandamus may be directed unto the generall and Captaynes of every Shipp, commanding them not to suffer the said two Ambassadors, to goe on shore, both at one tyme together, untill they arrive by the devine pmission at Pertia; & that at euery watering place wher men goe on Land to refresh themselves by the waye, my Lord maye have at least as much tyme allotted for himselfe as the other, who hath noe women amongst his Traine, w^{ch} ys the some of this her humble request, & shee shall alwaies praye &c." ³³

³² It appears by Secretary Conway's letter book in the S. P. O. that "the Governor and Committees of the East India Merchants" had received orders from the King for the landing of his Majesty's Ambassador for Persia and Sir Robert Sherley at "*Bandesgomragh*;" they were also required "to set S^r Robert free for his voyage," by paying his debts, not exceeding 2000^l.

³³ S. P. O. Persia. Not signed, it appears a copy of the time.

The purport of the letters from King Charles to Shah Abbas, of which Sir Dormer Cotton was the bearer, may be gathered from a paper endorsed "Instructions for a letter to the Kinge of Persia."

"To take knowledge to the K. of Persia that S^r Robert Sherley having been formerly his Amb^r heere, and comming lately wth a Co^mission from that King, his Ma^{ty} had received him as an Amb^r."

"To take knowledge of his person to be of a noble and ancient ffamily of this kingdome, & allyed to the greatest persons."

"That he made some proposicōns concerning the mutuall good of both Kings & their people, w^{ch} are to be pticulary exprest."

"That whilst those things were treating here, arrived another Ambassador, who disavowes S^r Robert Sherley."

"That S^r Robert Sherley accompanied wth a principall Nobleman³³ of this kingdome going to visitt him, and shew him his Co^mission, he teare the Co^mission, and strooke S^r Robert Sherley, w^{ch} demeano^r of his could not haue beene passed over, in his Ma^{ty}s just & civill government but for respect to the K. of Persia, whose Amb^r he was."

"That his Ma^{tie} finding soe strange a contradiction in these things &c. he sent Mr. Cotton a Gentⁿ of his Chamber to that King to informe himselfe of the truth thereof and give his Ma^e: information."

"That that K. would give Mr. Cotton credence in what he shall propound or treat for the mutuall hono^r & profitt of the kings & their kingdomes, And rest assured his Ma^{tie} will allow & ratifie what shalbe concluded & agreed on by him." ³⁴

The history of Sir Robert Sherley from the period of his leaving England to the time of his death, is given in the Travels of Sir Thomas Herbert, who accompanied the Ambassadors in their voyage to Persia; they arrived in the Persian Gulph on the 29th of November, 1627; soon afterwards Najdi Beg committed suicide, fearing, according to Herbert, to face Sir Robert and the English in the presence of the Shah. On the 10th of January the Ambassadors entered Gombroon, where they were received with distinction by the Governor of the place; after fourteen days repose, they set out on their way to Shiraz, and from thence to Ispahan, where they arrived on the 10th of April, thence they proceeded to Kazveen or Casbin, where the Court then was, and where Sir Dormer Cotton's audience with the Shah took place, the ceremonies of which are described at length by Sir Thomas Herbert. To the Ambassador's enquiry as to the charges

³³ The Earl of Cleveland, see note page 68.

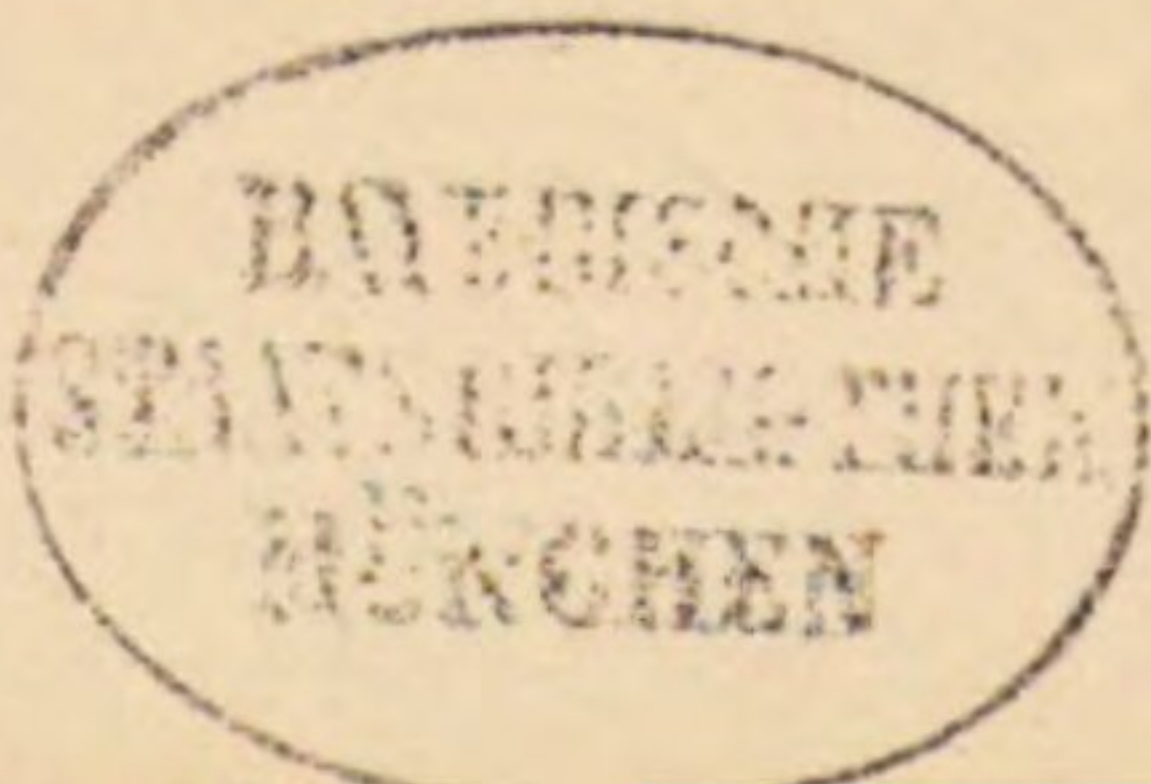
³⁴ S. P. O. Persia.

against Sir Robert Sherley; Mahomet Aly Beg, the King's favourite, but an enemy to the latter, replied, that the King had then no affection to him, adding "that all his embassies and messages to the Princes of Christendom were frivolous and counterfeit." Sir Robert's letter of credence being entrusted to him, on his request to show it to the King, he reported that his Majesty had denied it to be true, and in rage burnt it, wishing Sir Robert Sherley to depart his kingdom, as old and troublesome. "We all were verily persuaded," says Herbert, "he never shew'd it to the king, nor had any way enquired of him concerning it: The truth is he had been bribed, but by whom is unnecessary to speak of, it may be we did but conjecture it, yet no doubt, Abbas was hereby too much defamed; his justice and discretion and courage would have proceeded otherwise," he proceeds to observe that "Sir Robert Sherley's old age and disability to serve the Persian, made them sleight and cashier his pension; even then when he most expected thanks and other acknowledgements; But such is the weak nature of men, especially when they trust too much upon Worldly Princes or any arm of flesh, that God is angry; for thereby we rely too strongly upon secondary helps, and condemn in some sort God's gracious providence; hence came those discontents, nay that arrow of death that arrested him, the 13th of July, (1628) and in less than a fortnight after our entering Casbyn, he gave this miserable and fickle world an *ultimum vale* in his great clymacterick, and (wanting a fitter place of burial) we intombed him under the threshold of his own house in this city without much ceremony." ³⁵

"Rank me with those that honour him," adds Sir Thomas Herbert, "and in that he wants the gilded trophies and hyeroglyphicks of honour to illustrate his wretched sepulchre, (his virtue can outbrave those bubbles of vanity, *facta ducis vivunt*, and till some will do it better,) accept this *ultima amoris expressio* from him, who so long travell'd with him, that so much honour'd him."

"After land-sweats, and many a storme by sea,
This hillock aged Sherley's rest must be.
He well had view'd armes, men, and fashions strange
In divers Lands. Desire so makes us range.
But turning course, whilst th' Persian Tyrant he
With well dispatched charge, hop'd glad would be;

³⁵ Sir Thos. Herbert's Travels, pp. 170, 202—204.



See Fortune's scorn ! under this doore he lyes,
 Who living had no place to rest his eyes.
 With what sad thoughts man's mind long hopes do twine,
 Learn by another's losse, but not by thine."

Thus, worn out by disappointment rather than years, for his age could not have exceeded fifty, died Sir Robert Sherley, the greatest traveller of his time, and for near thirty years in the confidential service of Shah Abbas; that he was the victim of his enemies in the court of that celebrated monarch there is no doubt, but the conduct of the Shah on the occasion is not equally clear. According to the following petition from Captain, afterwards Sir Thomas Sherley, the son of his eldest brother Sir Thomas, it would appear that some attempt at justice was at least done to the *memory* of Sir Robert, whose services, Herbert also records, Abbas distinctly acknowledged; saying "that he (Sherley) had done more for him than any of his native subjects."

"To the Kings most excellent Ma^{tie}

"The humble petition of Captaine Thomas Sherley, Esq^{re}

"In most humble manner sheweth that the pet^s uncle S^r Robert Sherley yo^r highnes' subject, and the Emperor of Pertia his Ambassado^r both to yo^r highnes' ffather of blessed memorie, and to yo^r Royall Ma^{tie}; whose intent & good meaning was to possesse yo^r Ma^{ty}'s Kingdomes wth the Comodities and Rawe Silkes of Persia to be transported from the Ports of Persia, and to shutt up the Commerce wth the Turke, & thereby to vindicate himselfe the better against that his said Enemy.

"Now forasmuch as the Persian Ambassado^r here present, dothe acknowledge the truth heareof, and the good service the pet^s said Uncle laboured to have done, and that he lived & died in high esteeme wth the Persian Emperor, notwithstandinge the Calumnious traducem^{ts} of some merchants heere at home.

"Therefore he most humbly prayeth that before the said Ambassado^r departeth, soe great a cause as this may be heard before yo^r Royall Ma^{tie}; that upon the due examinacōn heareof the good services done, & intended to be done, may be made manifest to yo^r pet^s great comfort, and the repation of the honno^r of his Uncles Ashes.

"And as in duty bound he shall humbly pray &c." ³⁶

Of the "thrice worthy and undaunted Lady Teresia, the faithful wife of Sir Robert Sherley," Herbert has also preserved some particulars; he tells us how when her husband lay dead by her, and herself very weak with a long

³⁶ S. P. O. Domestick. Charles I.

dysentery, a Dutch painter³⁷ (who had served the King of Persia twenty years,) conspired with the hostile minister, Mahomet-Aly Beg, and under pretence of a debt due to one Crole, a Flemming, nearly succeeded in robbing her of the valuable jewels which she possessed, and which Sir Robert had been seen to wear; his horses, camels, vests, turbans, a rich Persian dagger, and other things were actually seized by the "pagan sergeants." No jewels however, being forthcoming, for they had been entrusted to the faithful keeping of "Master Hedges," a follower of the Ambassadors, "mad angry and ashamed they departed unsatisfied."

One other fact relating to the Lady Sherley is recorded by Herbert, viz. that after her husband's death she retired to Rome, "where," he adds in his *Travels*, which were published in 1638, "I hear she now most happily enjoys herself." She probably took the veil, being "by profession a Romanist," as we are informed by Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to Sir Thomas Roe, which has been before alluded to, and where Sir Robert's attachment to the Church of England is also questioned. There seems indeed every reason to believe, that both husband and wife, in common with their brother Anthony, (the few remaining traces of whose career now claim our attention,) lived and died in the Roman Catholic Faith.

Spain continued, as is generally supposed, the adopted country of Sir Anthony Sherley during the rest of his life, though the Spanish correspondence in the State Paper Office, after the period of the second visit of his brother to Madrid, mentions his name but on two occasions, a fact which proves that the plots and projects which had been for so many years the business of his life, had much declined in importance; the following are the instances alluded to.

[Mr. Henry Atye to S^r Walter Aston, Madrid, 23^d of December 1625.]

"The Conde de Leste alias S^r Anthony Sherley, is lately come to this town, I presume with new projects, for your lordship knows he cannot live without them, two days since I met him at Secretary Cerica's, but had no speech with him, for I knew him not, till I was told who he was."

³⁷ I am in possession of a portrait of Sir Robert Sherley, which I believe to be the work of this Dutch painter; it represents him as usual in a turban and Eastern costume, to the right of the head is an inscription in the Persian character which has been thus translated. "The Protection of the Universe (meaning the King,) has graciously condescended to cast his light on the portrait of his Ambassador of Frangistan."

[Advertisements. S^t Juⁿ de Luz 14th of January 1626-7.]

"Sir Anthony Sherley and Sir Edmund Baynam³⁸ are still at Madrid, daily exhibiting new projects to the Council there."³⁹

It is to this period that Wadsworth, in his "English-Spanish Pilgrim," printed in 1629, refers, when he tells us, that "First and foremost of the English Fugitives at the Court of Spain, is Sir Anthony Sherley, who stiles himself Earl of the sacred Roman Empire, and hath from his Catholick Majesty, a pension of 2000 duckats per annum, all of which in respect of his prodigality is as much as nothing. This Sir Anthony Sherley is a great plotter and projector in matters of state, and undertakes by sea-stratagems, to invade and ruinate his native Country, a just treatise of whose passages would take up a whole volume."⁴⁰

The sequel of the eventful life of Sir Anthony is involved in obscurity, he was, however, according to one authority living in Spain, and in the retirement of private life, so late as the year 1636.⁴¹

The fate of Sir Thomas, the eldest of this remarkable trio is also uncertain, though he appears to have predeceased both his brothers; he is said to have died in the Isle of Wight, overwhelmed with debt, not long after the sale of Wiston, the last remnant of the family estate. That he retired to the Isle of Wight is extremely probable, since three of his children were born there, and a letter of his is still extant, addressed to Secretary Conway, requesting to be continued Keeper of the Royal Park in that Island,⁴² dated February 12, 1624-5, Sir Thomas Sherley was the only one of the brothers who left issue; by his first wife, Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Vavasour, of the ancient family of the Vavasours of Hazelwood, in the county of York,⁴³ he had three sons and four daughters.

1. Cheyney, who died young, s. p.⁴³
2. Henry, "sine sobole occisus," buried March 5, 1605-6, at Foot's Cray, Kent.⁴⁴
3. Thomas, baptized in the parish of West Clandon in Surrey, June 30, 1597.⁴⁵

³⁸ "Who was a grand Complotter of the Gunpowder Treason." Wadsworth, p. 62.

³⁹ S. P. O. Spain. ⁴⁰ Wadsworth, p. 62. ⁴¹ Harl. MSS. 4023. p. 121. a. ⁴² Conway Papers.

⁴³ Harl. MSS. 4023. ⁴⁴ P. R. Foot's Cray. Lyson's Environs, vol. iv. p. 425.

⁴⁵ "Anno D'ni 1597, 30 day of June, Mr. Thomas Sherley, sonne of Sir Thomas Sherley, Knight, was baptized."—P. R. West Clandon, Surrey.

1. Catharine.

2. Elizabeth, married Sir Arthur Daking, of Linton, in the county of York, Knt.⁴⁶

3. Frances, baptized in the parish of St. Anne, Blackfriars, London, August 31, 1598,⁴⁷ married John Mole, of Culworth, in the county of Northampton, Esq. She died in December 1639.

4. Dorothy.

Sir Thomas Sherley married secondly, December 2, 1617, at the church of St. Nicholas at Deptford, in Kent, Judith Taylor, widow,⁴⁸ the daughter of William Bennet, of London, a younger branch of a family of that name in Surrey.⁴⁹ By her he had issue five sons and six daughters.

1. John.

2. Hugh.

3. Thomas, died unmarried Jan^y. 1, 1657-8.

4. Robert, baptized in the parish of Colborne, Isle of Wight, June 11, 1624.⁵⁰ Living 1657.

5. Richard, baptized in the parish of Colborne, Nov^r. 14, 1625.⁵⁰ Living 1657.

1. Judith, died an infant.

2. Anne, living 1657.

3. Judith.

4. Elizabeth, died an infant.

5. Bridget, baptized in the parish of Colborne, May 7, 1623,⁵⁰ living 1657.

6. Elizabeth.⁴⁹

Of the eight sons of Sir Thomas Sherley the younger, Thomas, (knighted in 1645,) the third son by his first wife, alone is known to have married; he had issue, Sackville and Mary Sherley, (twins,) living in 1634, and Thomas, afterwards Physician to King Charles II. on whose death, unmarried, in 1678, the male line of the Sherleys of Wiston is supposed to have become extinct.

⁴⁶ By a monumental inscription in the Church of Albury, in Surrey, in memory of the family of George Duncombe, Esq. it is stated that George, his eldest son, who died in 1640, had married to his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Thomas Shirley of Sussex. This was probably the widow of Sir Arthur Daking.

⁴⁷ Lond. Rediv. vol. ii. p. 366.

⁴⁸ P. R. Lysons's *Environs*, vol. iv. p. 377.

⁴⁹ Harl. MSS. 4023.

⁵⁰ P. R. Colborne.

1. Catherine.
 2. Elizabeth, married Sir Arthur Dalglish, of London, in the county of York, Kent.
 3. Thomas, baptised in the parish of St. Anne, Blackfriars, London, August 31, 1588; married John Mole, of Colchester, in the county of Northampton, Esq. She died in December 1639.
 4. Dorothy, more than two years before her death she was one of the daughters of Thomas Shutey married secondly, December 2, 1617, at the church of St. Nicholas at Deptford, in Kent, John Taylor, widow, the daughter of William Bennett of London, a younger branch of a family of that name in Surrey. By her he had issue five sons and six daughters.
 1. John.
 2. Hugh, baptised at Deptford, Kent, in the parish of St. Nicholas, 1593-8.
 3. Thomas, died unmarried Jan. 1653-8.
 4. Robert, baptised in the parish of Colborne, Isle of Wight, June 11, 1634; living 1655.
 5. Richard, baptised in the parish of Colborne, Nov. 11, 1635; living 1657.
 6. Anne, living 1657.
 7. Elizabeth, died an infant.
 8. Elizabeth, baptised in the parish of Colborne, May 7, 1638; living 1657.
 9. Elizabeth, living 1657.
 10. Thomas, baptised in the parish of St. Thomas, Thomas, (Knightsbridge) the third son by his first wife, alone is known to have married; he had issue, Backville and Mary Shutey, (living) living in 1694, and Thomas, afterwards a physician to King Charles II. on whose death, unmarried, in 1678, the male line of the Shuteys of Winton is supposed to have become extinct.
-
- By a monumental inscription in the Church of Albany, in Surrey, in memory of the family of George Bunscombe, Esq. it is stated that George, his eldest son, who died in 1640, had married to his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Thomas Shutey of Surrey. This was probably the widow of Sir Arthur Dalglish.
1. John, living 1657.
2. Thomas, living 1657.
3. Richard, living 1657.
4. Elizabeth, living 1657.
5. Anne, living 1657.
6. Elizabeth, living 1657.
7. Elizabeth, living 1657.
8. Elizabeth, living 1657.
9. Elizabeth, living 1657.
10. Elizabeth, living 1657.



APPENDIX A.

" xi Martii 1596[-7].

THE yearlie value of S^r Thomas Sherleys landes viz :

Sussex.—The Mannor of Wiston	ccc ^{li}	}	mcciiij ^{xx} xix ^{li}
. Bodington	cx ^{li}		
. Charleton	ccxl ^{li}		
. Chankton	cxx ^{li}		
. Buncton	xx ^{li}		
. Heene	xl ^{li}		
. Chiltington	iiij ^{xx} li		
"To be sold—The Mannor of Barkfold	xxiiij ^{li}		
"To be sold— Beryland	xii ^{li}		
"To be sold—The fowerth parte of the Mannor of Hely w th the fowerth pte of the forest of Worth	ccxx ^{li}		
Certeyne landes called fynden Parke	xl ^{li}	}	cxxx ^{li}
Certeyne landes in Ashurst	xxx ^{li}		
"To be sold—Certeyne landes in Palingham	xliiij ^{li}		
"To be sold—Certeyne landes in Petworth	xiiij ^{li}		
Certeyne landes called Wantley	c ^{sh}	}	cxxx ^{li}
Com : Bark.			
"To be sold—The Mannor of East Ilesley	xxx ^{li}		
"To be sold—Certeyne landes in Inglefield and Tydmarsh be- longing to my sonne Anthonie Sherley, and left in feoffees hands to be solde to my use	c ^{li}	}	cxxx ^{li}
"To be sold—Certeyne copies conteyning by estimacōn iiij ^c acres			
"To be sold 444 ^{li} besides		}	m ^c iiij ^c xxix ^{li}
400 acres of coppice.			

Com : Bark.

"To be sold—The Mannor of East Ilesley	xxx ^{li}	}	cxxx ^{li}
"To be sold—Certeyne landes in Inglefield and Tydmarsh be- longing to my sonne Anthonie Sherley, and left in feoffees hands to be solde to my use	c ^{li}		
"To be sold—Certeyne copies conteyning by estimacōn iiij ^c acres			
"To be sold 444 ^{li} besides		}	m ^c iiij ^c xxix ^{li}
400 acres of coppice.			

"This is as neere as I can remember wthout Booke, and I am sure theare is but small difference.

" x Martii, 1596.

"THOMAS SHERLEY." ¹

¹ S. P. O. Domestick. In the hand of a Secretary, but signed by Sir Thomas.

APPENDIX B.

“The Coppie of Sir Anthony Shirlies letters of credence from the great Sophie, to the Christian Princes.

“THERE is come unto me, in this good time, a principall gentleman, (Sir Anthonie Sherlie,) of his owne free will, out of Europe, into thiese parts: and all you princes y^e beleue in Jesus Christ, know you, that he hath made friendship betweene you and me; which desire we had also heretofore graunted; but there was none that came to make the way, and to remove the uaile that was betwene us and you, but onely this gentleman; who as he came of his owne free will, so also oppon his desire, I have sent with him a chiefe man of mine. The entertainment which that principall gentleman hath had with me, is, that daylie, whilst he hath bin in thiese partes, we have eaten togither of one dysh, and drunke of one cup, like two breethren.

“Therefore, when this gentleman comes unto you Christian Princes, you shall credite him in whatsoever you shall demaunde, or he shall say, as mine owne person; and when this gentleman shall have passed the sea, and is entred into the countrey of the great king of Muscouie, (with whom we are in friendshippe as brethren,) all his gouernours, both great and small, shall accompany him, and use him with all favour, unto Mosco: and because there is great loue betweene you, the King of Mosco, and mee, that wee are like two breethren, I have sent this gentleman through your countrey, and desire you to favour his passage without any hindrance.”

“The Coppie of the free Priviledges obtained by Sir Anthony Shirlie of the great Sophie for all Christians to trade and trafique in Persia.

“I the King &c. Our absolute commaundement, will, and pleasure, is, that our cuntries and dominions shall be, from this day, open to all Christian people, and to their religion: and in such sort, that none of ours, of any condition, shall presume to give them any euil word. And, because of the amitie now joyned with the princes that professe Christ, I do giue this pattent for all Christian marchants, to repaire and trafique, in and through our dominions, without disturbances or molestations of any duke, prince, gouernour, captaine, or any, of whatsoever office or qualitie, of ours: but that all merchandize that they shall bring, shall be so priviledged, that none, of any dignitie or authoritie, shall have power to looke unto it: neyther to make inquisition after, or stay, for any use or person, the value of one asper. Neyther shall our religious men, of whatsoever sort they be, dare disturbe them, or speake in matters of their faith. Neyther shall any of our justices have power ouer their persons or goodes, for any cause or act whatsoever.

“If by chaunce a marchant shall die, none shall touch any thing that belongeth unto him: but if the marchante haue a companion, he shall haue power to take possession of those goodes. But if (by any occasion) he be alone, onely with his seruants, the gouernor, or whomsoeuer shall be required by him in his sickness, shall be answerable for all such goodes unto any of his nation, which shall come to require them. But if he die suddainly, and haue neyther companion nor seruant, nor time to recomende to any what he woulde haue done, then the gouernor of that place shall sende the goodes to the next marchant of his nation, which shall be abiding in any parts of our dominions.

“And those within our kingdomes and prouinces, hauing power ouer our tolles and customes, shall receiue nothing, nor dare to speake for any receipt from any Christian marchant.

“And if any such Christian shall give credite to any of our subjectes, (of any condition whatsoeuer,) he shall, by this pattent of ours, haue authoritie to require any caddie, or gouernor, to do him justice, and thereupon, at the instant of his demaunde, shall cause him to be satisfied.

“Neyther shall any gouernor, or justice, of what qualitie soeuer he be, dare take any rewarde of him, which shall be to his expense: for our will and pleasure is, that they shall be used in all our dominions, to their owne full content, and that our kingdomes and cuntries shall be free unto them.

“That none shall presume to aske them for what occasion they are heere.

“And although it hath bin a continuall and unchaungeable use in our dominions euery yeere, to renue all pattents; this pattent notwithstanding shall be of full effect and force for ever, without any renuing; for me and my successors, not to be chaunged.”²

APPENDIX C.

JACOBUS REX SCOTORUM, INVICTISSIMO PRINCIPI SHAUGH ABBAS.

1601.

“JACOBUS, Dei Gratia, Rex Scotorum, Omnumque Insularum circumjacentium: ac Regnorum potentissimorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ summo ejusdem Jehovæ nutu Hæres proximus.

“POTENTISSIMO et invictissimo Principi Shaugh Abbas, Persarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum, cis et ultra Tigrim Fluvium et omnium intra mare Caspium et Persicum sinum, nationum atque gentium Imperatori: Salutem et rerum prosperarum foelicissimum incrementum.

² True Report of Sir Anthony Shierlies Journey. London, 1600.

Cum non ita pridem, nobilissimus ille Eques Anglus, ANTONIVS SHERLEYVS Legatione sibi a Majestate vestra commissa pulcherrimè functus apud multos Principes, in Aula etiam Cæsarea, sapienter fortiterque permulta de rebus Persicis perorasset: dici non potuit quantum splendoris nomini vestro accesserit, cum omnes publice testarentur, neque per vastas solitudines, aspera juga, vel insolita maria, ullam virtuti vestræ inviam esse viam: num cum plurima apud nos ab historicis commemorantur bella factaque egregia, ab Imperatoribus Persicis, terra marique gesta, in quibus fortuna maximam partem proprio quodam suo jure expetere videatur. In ista Legatione, qua sancta hospitalitatis jura, et dulcia communis humanitatis officia inter nos, nostra regna, nostrosque subditos constitui, coli et constanter conseruari queant, non hoc fortunæ sed consilii, non casus sed virtutis, certissimum argumentum esse constat. Nec in re tam plana halucinari debemus, quin omnipotentis Dei summa prouidentia ratum esse fateamur; vt fortissimus ille miles Sherleyvs, nullis vel parentum illustrium præci- bus, vel amplissimi patrimonii spe flecti potuit, quo minus dulcissima sua patria dere- licta in sinum Majestatis vestræ seipsum fortunamque suam conjicerit; speramus ita- que brævi affuturum tempus cum ex mutuo omnium Principum consensu, infesta gentis Turcicæ insignia lacera et sub pedibus contrita, ludibrio et risui exponentur. Verun- tamen illud nos male habet, quod in re tam seria et tam necessaria de Anglorum auxi- liis nihil promittere, nedum sperare ausi sumus. Herois etenim Comitis Essexij, qui ad omnes bellicas expeditiones fulminis instar paratus esse solebat, violenta ac inopinata mors, Regni illius incolas adeo obstupescit, vt interna potius timere, quam externa sperare, malint: maxima quippe pars eorum qui Anglorum habenas hodie moderantur priuatis odijs non solum inter se certant; veruntamen propter initam a mercatoribus suis cum Turcis amicitiam, strenue, huic nostræ legationi sese opponunt. Quod cum per confidentes nostros exploratum haberemus illico Equitem Sherleyvm admonere et hortari, non dubitauimus, ne vana et Majestati vestræ non profutura sibi ipsi exitralia inciperet. Qui quidem authoritati ac consilio nostro acquiescens, exulem se fieri quod- ammodo passus est, vt posthac cum corona illius imperii ad nos deuoluta fuerit, vbe- riores fructus laborum suorum reportare possit. Nam cum Regnum Angliæ munitissima classe instructum, ac totius orbis circumnauigatione celeberrimum terrorem maximum genti Ottomanæ incutiat, dubium non est, quin diuino spirante numine ex istis amicitiae fœlicibus auspicijs, vobis et nostris eternam gloriam cum summa vtilitate conjunctam aliquando simus consequuturi. Magnanimus itaque Equitem Sherleyvm Majestati vestræ ita commendatum esse velimus, vt pote hominem omnis generis armorum, et politicæ rationis peritissimum, in quo minus valent verba quam fides, manus quam animus, vtrisque tamen insignibus præclarus. Etsi fortitudinem illam quæ virtutis stirpe stipata mirum suæ indolis specimen toties edidit, conseruatam et nutritam fore intellexerimus vniuerso mundo palam innotescere faciemus, plus virium habuisse bene- uolentiam ad nos coniungendos, quam terram et mare ad nos longissime seperandos. Deus Optimus Maximus salutem omnem et perpetuam vestræ concedat Majestati.

Datum in Scotia in inclito nostro Palatio Edinburgi, Anno Mundi 5680, Domini nostri Jesu Christi 1601, Regnorum vero nostrorum xxxiiii.

“Amantissimus frater tuus,

“JACOBUS R.”

“Potētissimo et invictissimo Principi, SHAUGH ABBAS, Persarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmianorum, Margianorum populorum, cis et vltra Tigrim fluuium, et omnium intra mare Caspium et Persicum sinum, nationum atque gentium, Imperatori.³

APPENDIX D.

“RUDOLPHUS Secundus, divina fauente clementia electus Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiae, Sclavoniæ, et^c Rex, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Stiriae, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ et Wiertembergæ et^c Comes Tirolis et^c Serenissimo Principi, Domino Jacobo, Magnæ Britaniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regi, Consanguineo et fratri nro charissimo, Salutem cum omnis boni incremento. Ser^{me} Princeps, Consanguinee et frater charissime. Quam amicum se et humanum Serenissimus Persarum Rex Christianis, quàm infestum se Turcis præbeat, Ser^{tem} V^m haud latet. Is Magnificos Robertum Shirlei, et Alach Kuli Beegh Legatos ad nos diversis temporibus expeditos misit. Qui cum ad Ser^{tem} Vram porrò iter habeant, omnino quæ nobis cum illius Ser^{te} intercedit amicitiae deberi existamus, Ser^{ti}: Vrae de meliore illos nota ut commendemus. Magnum sanè et superiore ætate inauditum est, liberam in Persia Christianis ut Religionis, sic Commerci Sediumq: facultatem dari, contra Turcas eos indè excitari quod mutuam Christianorum, et quidem Ser^{tis} Vrae humanitatem benevolentiamq: mereatur, Eam vero ut Legati isti in iis, quæ cum ipsa tractanda habebunt, sentiant, et si ultro id facturam confidamus nra tamen causa ut magis faciat optamus. Ad Shirleum autē quod attinet, quanti ejus facienda virtus sit, vel inde Ser^{tas} Vra æstimet, quod Christianus cum sit peregrino Regi qui ut toto ferè Terrarum orbē à nobis sic et Religione divisus, est adeo charus et acceptus evaserit, Christiano ut nomini favorem conciliavit, nobisq: opportuna diuersis belli Turcici occasionibus officia præstiterit. Quæ res magnam nobis causam præbet, ut benignā Ser^{tis} Vrae affectionem illum experiri desideremus. Quod si nris his obtentum intellexerimus nobis apprimè gratum futurum, qui Ser^{ti} Vrae vicissim gratificari ubi res postulavit parati sumus, eidemq: secundissimos rerum omnium successus ex animo precamur. Datum in Arcē, nra Regia Pragæ, die xvi Junii Anno Dñi Milles^{mo}

³ Original, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

Sexcent^{mo} nono. Regnorum n^ororum Romani xxxiiij.^o Hung^{ci} trigesimo septimo et Boh^{ci} itidem xxxiiij Ejusdem Ser^{tis} Vřæ bonus frater

"RUDOLPHUS I.

"Leopaldi á Stradendorff.

Jo: Baruitius.

[Directed]

"Serenissimo Principi Domino Jacobo Magnæ Britaniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regi Consanguineo et fratri nostro charissimo."⁴

[Endorsed]

"16 June 1609

"The Emperor to his Ma^{tie}

"By M^r Robert Sherley."

APPENDIX E.

"MONIES issued out of the Receipt of His Ma^s Exchequer unto Lawrence Baskervyle, for the diett and lodging of S^r Robert Sherley Knighte, heretofore sent unto his Ma^{tie} from the king of Persia in Ambassage, by virtue of his Ma^s privie Seale dated the xiiijth of October in the nyenth yeare of his Reigne, and billes signed by the Earle of Salisbury then Lo: high Th^r of England, and the Earle of Suffolke Lorde Chamberlaine to his Ma^{tie}: according to the tenor of the said Priuy Seale. viz:

"Uppon his allowance of iiij^{li} per diem thought fitt to be made unto him for his diett, by the said Lord Th^r and Lord Chamberlaine for 472 daies begon the first of October 1611 & in the nyenth yeare of his Ma^s raigne, and ended the xiiijth of January 1612 in the tenth yeare of his Ma^s said raigne, on w^{ch} day the said allowance did determine, the some of

1888^{li}

"Uppon his allowance of lx^{li} the quarter, thought fitt to be made unto him for house rente for one whole yeare & a quarter ended att Christmas 1612 in the said 10th yeare of his Ma^s raigne, att w^{ch} ffeast the said allowance did determine

300^{li}

Some Totall

2188^{li}

"More paid to the said S^r Robert Sherley, by virtue of his Ma^s lres of Priuie Seale dated the 15th of Aprill in the xth year of his raigne, as of his Ma^s free guifte and reward, the some of"

666^{li} 13^s 4^d 5

⁴ S. P. O. Royal Letters, Series 1, vol. i. p. 185.

⁵ S. P. O. Persia.

APPENDIX F.

“Most High and Excellent Ma^{tie}

“THE King of Persia whome I actually serue through yo^r Ma^{ties} gracious sufferance hath commaunded mee to make you certaine proposicōns, which it may please your Ma^{tie} to accept off, looking upon the conueniences and inconueniences as in your Ma^{ties} highest wisdom you shall consider of them, as they may bee advantagious for your Ma^{ties} particuler profit, by encreasing your customes, and noe whit preiudiciall to your Subiects.

“First the King of Persia desires, that your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased, that in the English Shipping which have begunne already to a league of freindshipp and intercourse with him, there may bee made and carried Gallies in every shipp one, ready to bee ioyned together at their arriuall in the Persian gulf, at such reasonable rates as they may bee afforded by any other State.

“And this the King of Persia desires, to the end hee may bee able by his owne power and proper chardge to secure all English shipping that shall trade unto him.

“And for a requitall of this kindness, the King of Persia hath commaunded mee to assure your Ma^{tie} that hee will bee ready at all tymes, and uppon all occasions to further any action or enterprise you shall haue cause or desire to take in hand in those parts, with the assistance of 20^{ty} or 25 thousand men Armed and paid at his owne proper chardge, for your Ma^{ties} seruice; And the King of Persia will likewise procure all the Indian Princes his neighbours and Allyes to bee ready at all tymes to second it.

“Secondly, because it is well knowne to the King of Persia, that the Turkish Empire is exceedingly much advanced in profit by all those ritch commodityes which are first carried out of his kingdome into Turkey, and after vented abroad in other parts of Christendome; hee is desirous to remoue the Trade from thence, and to plant it in some other place whither hee is better pleased so greate a benefite should passe.

“And because alsoe the present combustion in the Turkish Empire is growen to such a height, as it is not likely to bee suddainely appeased, whereby the Persian Marchants doe continually recieue a greate hazard by venting their goods that way, and others whoe are unwilling to venture themselves or their goodes doe suffer much necessity by retheyning them in their owne hands. And because likewise the English are restreyned from carrying any greate quantity of Bollion out of your Ma^{ties} kingdomes for the obteyning of soe rich a Trade, as the taking of soe greate a quantity of rawe and wrought silkes, druggs, and other ritch commodityes as are to bee had in the Persian Kingdome, and are indeede unable by truck of money or wares, to take the hundreth part of those commodityes which are there to bee had.

“Waying these things, the King of Persia beeing very desirous to establish a per-

petuall league of frendship with your Ma^{tie} and to weaken all hee can the Comon Enemy, desires that the profitt of that intercourse may redound rather to your Ma^{tie} then any other: Soe his intimation is, that your Ma^{tie} will bee pleased that his Subiects may passe their goods in such English shipping, as goes ordinarily thither, and which your Marchants are not able to lade themselves, (paying such freightage as Marchant with Marchant may agree upon.)

“Alwayes provided, that Persia Merchants shall come to your Ma^{ties} Ports with their goodes, and pay such Custome for them as is usually paid by your Ma^{ties} Subiects.

“And if they truck or sell any or all their goods in England, they shall for those pay the ordinary custome outward againe, and if they cannot utter all or any part of them in England, but shall bee forced to carry them to other Kingdomes or States, they shall procure such shipping as themselves can gett, But they will not pay custome againe for those wares outward which they have paid for coming in.

“And for such wares as they shall truck for in other parts, and bring back againe into England (which they shalbee compelled to doe,) they shall likewise pay the ordinary custome when they bring them in. But when they shall lade them in England to returne them againe into Persia, they will pay noe custome for them, but onely such freightage as shall bee agreed upon. And whatsoever Bollion they shall bring from other places into England, they will be suffered to carry that freely out againe into Persia in the same species.

“Theise propositiōs I humbly desire yo^r Ma^{tie} to looke upon with a gracious eye, and to consider by the plaine and short deliuey of theise courses your Ma^{tie} nor your Subiects can runne or suffer any hazard, or bee put to any chardge, but the benefite will redound euery way to your Ma^{tie} and your Subiects, according to the quantity of the first beginnings, and soe more, as the Trading shall increase. And as upon tryall you shall like of it, your Ma^{tie} may proceede, or leaue it of at your pleasure: onely two Gallyes for the shortnes of the tyme is presently desired.”⁶

[Endorsed] “The overture made to his Ma^{tie} by Count
Shurley Ambassador frō the Persian King.”

⁶ S. P. O. Persia.

...all the world all the sea the Collier
...shall be allowed to come to your Ma^{ty} Ports with
...shall be allowed to come to your Ma^{ty} Ports with
...shall be allowed to come to your Ma^{ty} Ports with

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[Endorsed] "The creatures made to his Ma^{ty} by Count
Shirley Ambassador for the Persian King."

Franz Steckeler
Buchbinderei
Höchstädt / Do.

